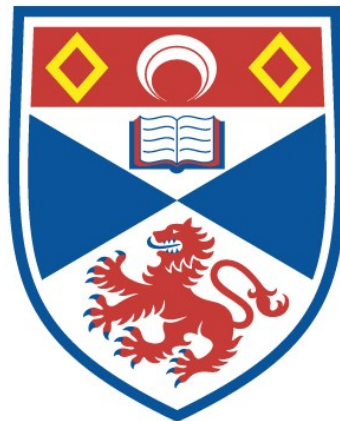


**STEPHEN : A STUDY OF HIS RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK AND
OF ITS AFFINITIES IN PRE-CHRISTIAN JEWISH
THOUGHT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT**

Robert Gardner

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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S T E P H E N.

" A Study of his Religious Outlook and of
its Affinities in pre-Christian Jewish
Thought and in the New Testament."

being a Thesis presented

by

ROBERT GARDNER.

to the University of St Andrews, in application
for the degree of Ph.D.

DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is my own work, that it is my own Composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The Research was carried out under the Supervision of Professor G.S. Duncan, D.D. St. Mary's College.

The Barony Manor,
Auchtermuchty.

31st January 1934.

I certify that the Rev. Robert Gardner, M.A., B.D.,
has spent nine terms at Research Work in Biblical
Criticism, that he has fulfilled the conditions of
Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews) and that he is qualified
to submit the accompanying thesis in application for
the degree of Ph.D.

St Andrews.

January 31st, 1934

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I N T R O D U C T I O N.

The account of the Stephen incident is contained in the Acts of the Apostles Chapters 6¹ - 8². Chapter 6 gives the circumstances that lead up to the trial. Chapter 7¹⁻⁵³ contains Stephen's Speech and 7⁵³⁻⁶⁰ describes the vision he had at the moment of his death, and the manner of his death, concluding with his last words. Stephen's burial is mentioned in 8². In 7⁵⁸ and 8¹ Saul is introduced into the story. 7⁵³⁻⁶⁰, if authentic, is of the highest value for the theological outlook of Stephen. The prominent mention of Saul in this part of the narrative leads one to ask whether it is suggested that the trial and death of Stephen were influential in leading to the conversion of Saul and whether the ideas of Stephen in the Speech have any affinity with and have had an influence on the thought of Paul.

We shall consider our subject in the following manner: -

DIVISION I.

Consideration of the Stephen incident and Speech; also of the value of the source Acts 6¹ - 8³, which records them.

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The Trial of Stephen and his Speech in Defence.

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CHAPTER I.

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Jesus and Stephen's Interpretation of His Teaching.

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Division I

PART I.

PART I.THE TRIAL OF STEPHEN AND HIS SPEECH IN DEFENCE.

CHAPTER I.Describing the Circumstances leading up to the Trial.

In this Chapter we are dealing with the material contained in the Acts of the Apostles Ch. 6¹ - Ch. 7¹. This section of the Acts falls into three Sub-sections, viz., Acts 6¹⁻⁶: 6⁷: 6⁷ - 7¹.

1. Acts 6¹⁻⁶. In this sub-section we are informed of the existence of two parties in the Church, named respectively the Hebrews and the Hellenists. The latter are complaining that the widows belonging to their party are being overlooked in the distribution of charity. At the Apostles' suggestion seven men are appointed to look after this matter. Stephen is one of them.
2. Acts 6⁷. In this sub-section we have an important additional historical note telling us that Christianity had invaded the ranks of the priesthood.
3. Acts 6⁷ - 7¹. Here we are told that Stephen, one of the seven, became prominent in the preaching of Christianity. He had discussions with certain synagogue members. In these discussions he gave utterance to views that so offended his opponents that they roused the Elders and the people against him and contrived to bring him for trial before the Sanhedrin.

These sections are intimately connected together but to get the connection clear we must examine them more minutely.

Acts 6¹⁻⁶.

1. In this section we are told then of two parties in the Church, the Hebrews and the Hellenists. The number of adherents to Christianity is increasing greatly. The widows of the Hellenistic party are being overlooked in the distribution of charity, and the party makes a complaint about it. The Apostles suggest that seven men of good character, possessed of tact and administrative ability be chosen to superintend the distribution of alms. They in turn complain that the attention they have had to give to this work has drawn them away from their proper work of attending to the Word. Seven men are appointed and their names are given. They are, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas and Nicolas. Stephen is mentioned first and he is characterized as a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. Only about one other is any information given. We are told that Nicolas was a proselyte of Antioch. These men were chosen by the Church and received from the Apostles their commission to act officially within the Church by the laying on of hands.

NOTES.

Acts 6¹. μαθητῶν — This is the first occurrence in Acts of this name for Christians. The word often occurs in the Gospels but never in the Epistles.

HEBREWS and HELLENISTS. It is of the first importance for New Testament study to discover, if possible, the exact meaning covered by these terms. From Chrysostom until recently Hellenists were understood to be Greek-speaking foreigners, particularly Greek-speaking Jews but recently doubts/

doubts have been expressed about this interpretation. Mr. H.T. Cadbury (Beginnings of Christianity Vol V. pp. 59-74) has examined the material afresh. His argument summarized is as follows:-

CADBURY'S ARGUMENT.

- (1) In Greek, verbs in - *ισα* mean "to ape the manners of" "to be enthusiastic for the ways of" e.g. *ἡλεθισεν*, *Μηδισεν* etc. On this analogy *ἑλληνισεν* should mean "to be enthusiastic for the ways of the Greeks." These verbs have no special reference to language. The adverbial ending - *-ιστι* does refer to language but it is independent of - *-ιστως* though popular etymology might combine the two.
- (II) The second observation Cadbury makes is that the word "Hellenists" does not occur outside the book of Acts and passages dependent on it until late when it means "heathen" or "pagan." We are confined, therefore, to the passages in Acts where the word occurs three times, Acts 6¹: 9²⁹: 11¹⁹.
- In Acts 6¹ the dispute between Hebrews and Hellenists has been interpreted as one between Aramaic speaking Jews and Greek-speaking Jews. The names of the seven are all Greek and so they have been thought to be all Hellenists and Greek-speaking. But no such conclusion is warranted, for it is known that Palestinian Jews had sometimes Greek names. There are no good grounds in this passage (Acts 6¹) for the conclusion that the distinction between Hebrew and Hellenist was one of language.
- (III) The third point made by Cadbury is that *ἑβραϊσμός* is not used elsewhere in a linguistic sense. It means Jewish. When it is contrasted with Gentile it includes language of/

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of course. ²Ἑβραῖοι. in the O.T. Apocalypse, and
N.T. means Jews as opposed to foreigners.

Cadbury's conclusion is that the word "Hellenist" does not mean
Greek-speaking Jews, that it does not indicate a language
distinction, but a distinction of race and that it simply
means Greek - Ἕλληνες. He holds that Acts 9²⁹ does not
contradict this and that Acts 11¹⁹ confirms it.

One may here ask "But why Ἑλληνοῖς and
not Ἕλληνες if Hellenists are simple Greeks?"

Cadbury anticipates the objection and answers that the variation
here is parallel to similar variations in the book of Acts.

Ἕλληνες occurs frequently in the latter part of the
book but in the first twelve Chapters we get Ἑλληνοῖς
only. He suggests that the latter word might better convey
the alien character of these people in a mainly Jewish
atmosphere. He compares Saul changed to Paul and God-fearers
(φοβούμενοι) changed to God worshippers (θεβούμενοι)
to meet a changed atmosphere.

Other views quoted by Cadbury. (Beg. of Christianity Vol. V. p.70).

G.P. SON WETTER. Of his view Cadbury says -

"If Hellenists is a party name, it may have originated
not in Judaism but in Christianity itself, used not so
much of those whose race or language was Jewish but of
those who unlike many Christians (cf. Ἰουδαίους
Galatians 2¹⁴) did not keep the Jewish way of life.....
So, as I understand him, argued G.P. Son Wetter.

A.D. NOCK is also inclined to regard Ἑλληνοῖς
as a Christian party name. what?

WALTER/Bauer.

WALTER BAUER thinks that Ἑλληνιστοί is not a term for Greek-speaking Jews but is used of members of the Christian community whether Jews or Gentiles, who had no positive relation to the Law, and in any case did not subject themselves to its tyranny.

DEISMANN is quoted on p.62 of Cadbury's Note as expressing the view that "Ἑβραῖοι. is geographical, of Jews born in Palestine Jews of the Dispersion might distinguish from members of the older dispersion the more recent emigrants from Palestine."

Further consideration must be given to the subject. We turn to the two Pauline passages where the word Ἑβραῖοι. occurs (2 Cor. 11²²; Phil. 3⁵). In both passages Paul is emphasizing his pure Jewish ancestry. He is no foreigner. As Cadbury says (pages 374 above), the contrast here is one of race. There is no contrast here of parties either within Judaism or the Church.

But, one asks, "Does Cadbury's conclusion do justice to the suggestion contained in the meaning of Ἑλληνίζειν - 'to ape or follow the ways of the Greeks.'" Is there, we ask, any evidence that there were Jews who did so? Or was it a party name within the Church?²

The following considerations must be examined: -

- (a) PHILO in a well-known passage (De. Migr. Abr. 16) complains of those Jews who, under the influence of his teaching, had begun to neglect the outward observances of the Law. Philo was a close student of the works of Plato who found the real in the ideal and the phenomenal to be only a shadow of the real/

real. Applying this method of interpretation to the Law, Philo showed the spiritual meaning behind the Law's outward observances. Some Jews took occasion from this to neglect these observances altogether. Philo pointed out to such people that it is necessary to maintain these observances, for they are the body of which the spiritual meaning is the soul. We cannot determine how far the influence of Philo's teaching extended, nor how widespread was this tendency to neglect the outward observance of the Law and to follow out its spiritual meaning.

- (b) There is some indirect evidence that doubts had been entertained by some Jews as to the necessity for all the practices of the Law. The book of Jubilees (between 135 and 105 B.C. vide Charles "Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments p. 230) is evidence of this. There had been a period before the Law when it had been possible to live and be pleasing to God without the Law. If the Law was necessary for a complete religious life, why had it not been bestowed at the beginning? Jubilees boldly answers the question by carrying the institution of some of the observances hitherto recognised as of Mosaic origin back into the pre-Mosaic period and asserts that the Law is observed in heaven. The author of Jubilees is evidently speaking against tendencies and views that are prevalent and strong enough to merit attention and correction. They are also views that tend to the neglect of the observances of the Law. The book is Palestinian in origin. The strong homiletic strain in Jubilees is most noticeable and gives the book a wonderful beauty. There was moral failure and impotence under the Law. Jubilees calls on the Jews to put this right. The author appeals to the meaning/

meaning of incidents in the past history of Israel. He calls on his countrymen to show in their lives the moral qualities illustrated in these incidents. Doubts were evidently being expressed about the efficacy of the Law as well as about the necessity for all its practices. Did these doubts persist throughout the century in which the book was written. Paul (Gal. 3 ¹⁷) refers to the 430 years between Abraham and Moses when there was no Law. If the doubts that lie behind Jubilees did not persist, they had at least been expressed and were ready to recur. They were probably always in existence throughout the century.

- c) We must remember that the beginning of the first century was a period of unrest in Palestine. There was a desire for independence among the masses. There were sects such as the "Essenes" and "The Zadokites of Damascus" who were seeking a higher righteousness than was expressed in the standard Judaism of that day. These sects did not by any means discard the Law but they are evidence of a desire existing at the time in certain quarters for a higher righteousness than ordinary Judaism afforded.

These facts (a. b. and c. above) must be remembered but there are others perhaps more pertinent to the subject of our enquiry, viz., the origin and the outlook of the Hellenists. These additional facts are:-

- (d) The revival of prophecy among the people, evidenced for us by John the Baptist.
- (e) The facts of poverty and distress. In the Gospels there is much said about the poor and blessings are promised to them.

How do these two sets of facts help us with what we are told about the Hellenists?

- (1) The Hellenists are evidently in touch with the poor and interested in them. Their complaint in Acts 6¹⁻⁶ comes from their interest in this respect.
- (2) The fact that Paul revives doubts that lie behind the book of Jubilees suggests that these doubts had not died out.

We suggest that there were those who held that the Law was neither final nor absolute, who spoke of a time before the Law when the only service of God was ethical and spiritual, without ritual or ceremonial. These people felt the powerlessness of the Law. They wanted "power" and looked for a Messiah with this "power" or "life". They would naturally get their inspiration from the prophets who had spoken of the service of God in terms of ethical service. On social and religious grounds they stood apart from the Temple and Cultus and the Sadducean High-Priestly families. They were influenced by the desire of their time for a higher righteousness. They were not untouched by the liberalizing atmosphere of Greek thought such as that of Philo. They were widespread in Antioch, Jerusalem and elsewhere. They were in touch and sympathy with the poor. They had leaders and were a definite party within Judaism. They had strong affinities with John the Baptist's revival of religion, but whereas the Baptist was within the Law, they were outside it. These people, we suggest, were the Hellenists of Acts 6¹⁻⁶. They were Jews but chiefly from abroad. In Jesus they would find "the power" they wanted. He, like them, was in sympathy with the poor. He taught the ethical service of God. The Hebraists would be those Jews without and within the Church who honoured the Law. Within the Church both parties/

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parties would be agreed that Jesus was the Messiah.

The reference to the Hellenists of Antioch in Acts 11¹⁹ would then mean that the followers of Stephen spoke there to the Jews of this party. In Acts 9²⁹ they are opposed to Paul. There was more than one reason for their dislike of Paul. He had persecuted the Church, but in addition his attitude to the Law was vacillating.

There is one additional probability. The Eastern Mediterranean world of this time was one of much travelling and many contacts. There were many Jews abroad. Widened experience would make some of them more 'fundamentalist' than ever, but contact and familiarity with foreign life and worship might suggest to others, especially if they were inclined to the prophetic view of the service of God, that there was no difference in kind between Roman and Greek worship on the one hand, and Jewish worship as practised in the Temple, on the other. They would see perhaps the whole world ~~comprehended~~ under idolatry and requiring spiritual worship.

The distinction between Hebraists and Hellenists is not a language nor a race distinction. These names represent two parties within Judaism. The Hellenists need not all have been from abroad: they may very well have had a following in Palestine among the native born but many would be from abroad and be Greek-speaking. Their language and their attitude to the Law and Temple would all suggest the name that is somewhat contemptuous - Hellenists, not Greeks but "those who ^{follow} ~~are~~ the ways of the Greeks" and are even worse than the Greeks.

6² ~~of~~ ^{of} δώδεκα — This expression "The Twelve" only occurs here in Acts. In 1²⁶ and 2¹⁴ it is implied in the phrase "The Eleven."

τὸ πλῆθος — cf. Acts 15¹²: 19⁹: 23⁷ etc - "the rank and file as contrasted with the leaders" (Bartlet - Acts ad loc).

διακονεῖν τραπεζῆς What does this mean? That they were not to hand out goods to the poor? but cf. Begin. of Christianity Vol IV. note ad loc. where it is pointed out that τραπεζῆς might mean a money-changer's table and the phrase here denote that the Apostles ought not to be required to attend to the financial administration of the community.

The phrase may simply be a metaphorical expression for the general administration of charity. No details of how the charity was distributed are given. Did the Apostles attend to this matter personally or did they delegate the duty to others while themselves accepting responsibility for what was done? We are not told.

Probably the author considered the situation was known sufficiently well to his readers and there was no need of further details.

6³. Choose seven men among you - The whole body of the disciples were to choose seven men.

Seven is a sacred number: also the number of elders in a Jewish township. It was natural that the Jewish forms of administration should be taken over into the Church.

N.B./

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N.B. The seven are never called "deacons." The seven must be men (a) of good character and reputation in the Church (b) possessed of the Spirit, and (c) possessed of administrative ability and tact. (506/12)

- 6⁵. They chose Stephen, a man full of faith and the Holy Spirit, and Philip and Prochorus and Nicanor and Timon and Parmenas and Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch.

All the names are Greek but we are not to suppose for that reason that the men all came from abroad. Some Palestinian Jews had Greek names. Were these men to take over the administration of charity for the whole community? Were they all Hellenists or were some Hebrews? Were they all Hellenists and appointed to look after the interests of the Hellenistic party while the Hebrew section was looked after as before, perhaps by persons to whom the Apostles had ^{already} delegated authority? We have no information on any of these points, though the feeling of the passage suggests they were all Hellenists. The impression left on us by the passage is that the Hellenists were a large and growing body within the Church. These officers may have been appointed for this section alone. The Hebraists had been well enough looked after: they did not complain. They may have continued to receive attention in the same manner as previously.

Stephen alone has his qualities detailed and his name comes first. No doubt this is to prepare us for what is to come, but it is also an indication that he is an out-standing man. By their appointment the seven were shown to have already a place of leadership in the opinion of the people. They were leaders. If we are right that they were all Hellenists they were leaders of the Hellenist party.

Nicolas/

12

Nicolas comes from Antioch. He is a link as it were between the Antioch where there has been a strong Jewish community of which he is a proselyte member and the same Antioch where there is soon to be a strong Christian community.

6⁶. Whom they set before the Apostles, and they prayed and laid hands on them.

The Church has adopted O.T. practice cf. Gen. 48¹⁴⁻²⁰ Numbers 8¹⁰ f. 27¹⁸ etc. The laying on of hands does not mean that a special *Xpian* is conferred but that the seven are officially commissioned for their work.

Dr. Moffatt (Article: ^{Stephen} Encyclop. Biblic. footnote) says that "the pragmatism of the editor is shown in 6⁶. where he suggests that Apostolic ratification is required for every new office and appointment cf. 13¹⁻³." But is there really anything unlikely in the fact that these seven officers should be officially set apart for their duties by the Apostles. The Apostles were the natural heads of the Christian community. The Church was growing. Pressure of circumstances demanded new organization. It was natural that familiar forms should be introduced; the number 'seven' might naturally suggest itself, and surely it was natural that the seven men should be officially commissioned for their work.

Eduard Meyer (Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums p. 155) among others finds a difficulty of another kind in the above section. There is no further mention of the seven as officers dispensing charity, but we find some of them, especially Stephen, active preachers and propagandists for the faith. Meyer and others feel there is something wrong here, and he accounts for it in this way - "In the account of which Luke makes use he has falsely sought an explanation of the organization which arose in the Christian Community by suggesting that assistants were appointed to the

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διδοσκειν to attend to the needs and stewardship of the community, at the head of these coming the ἑπτάκωτοι. Thus he has inserted in the story a contradiction that cannot be explained away."

In reality it is an organization adapted to meet the increase in the number of believers of the Diaspora." (Ed. Meyer refer. above). He then suggests that this body of seven officers was made necessary because of the difficulty of communication between Hebrews and Hellenists. The Hebrews understood no Greek and the Hellenists understood no Aramaic: Interpreters were necessary. This is getting far away from the story as we have it, and we have seen reason to believe that the distinction between Hebrew and Hellenist was not one of language, as Meyer understands, but one of religious outlook. Further we have no right to assume that, when the seven were appointed, there was laid down any differentiation and clear demarcation of function as between charity-officers and preachers. The Seven were outstanding men by reason of their gifts and Christian spirit. They were given an official position in the Church. It is absurd to assume that henceforth they were to take no active part in declaring the faith. The Apostles had their work of witnessing to the Lord. But it was equally the work of any of the Christian community who had gifts for it. We have no right to assume otherwise. The official position of the seven might even encourage them in preaching.

The position we reach at the end of this section is as follows. The Church is quickly growing in numbers. New organization is required to cope with the situation. Officers are appointed to look after the interests of the Hellenistic party; it may be the whole work of charity was in their hands. These/

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These officers, appointed by the Church, were officially set apart by the Apostles. A threatened crisis in the Church was averted, but the seeds were already present for the growth of a greater conflict between the Church and orthodox Judaism. The Hellenists in the Church were a growing body. They had made further Church organization necessary. They had certain definite opinions on the Law and the Temple. With their increasing influence and prominence in the Church they would without doubt bring the Church into active conflict with the orthodox Judaism.

This section then serves to introduce us to the Hellenists. It tells us that they were becoming preponderantly influential in the Church. One crisis had been averted but another was to spring forth from the opinions they advocated. One circumstance in the developing situation has now been put before us. A second is now to follow.

ACTS 6⁷.

A section adding an important historical fact.
Acts 6⁷. "The word of God increased and the number of the disciples in Jerusalem grew exceedingly and a great number of the priests obeyed the faith."

Moffatt says about this verse "that the increase of the Church has nothing to do with what immediately precedes and the conversion of the priests has no connection with what follows; 6⁸ is the original and natural sequel to 6¹⁻⁶."
(Art. ^{Encycl.} ~~Encl.~~ ^{Biblic}). It is true that the verse does not follow directly out of V⁶. and that V⁸ does not follow directly out of V⁷. The author is not seeking to show any direct connection./

connection. He is seeking to show the whole situation as it developed and came to a head. This important V⁷ shows a factor of great importance in that situation. There was continued growth of the Church and many priests came over to Christianity.

Two questions arise (1) What influenced the priests to become Christians? and (2) Did their becoming Christians mean their separation from the Temple?

(1) (a) Knox. (St. Paul and the Church at Jerusalem p. 50) mentions that 30 years after this there was a quarrel between the priests and the High Priest because the latter had seized the tithes that belonged to the whole priesthood; also that at that date the Sadducees supported the Levites against the lower orders of the priesthood in a quarrel which arose because the linen robe which previously had been restricted to the priests when singing in the Temple was now permitted to the Levites. He thinks there may earlier have been strong differences between priesthood and High-Priest to account for this later attitude. But this is too problematical to be valuable.

(b) He is on better and higher ground when he refers to the Zadokite fragment as evidence of the existence of a class of priests who were opposed on religious grounds to the Sadducean faction among the High-Priests. According to Charles (Relig.Develop. p. 234) there had been a slow and steady revival between the years 196 and 176 B.C. which culminated in the formation of a party within the priesthood. This party wished to rectify certain irregularities/

irregularities connected with the Temple. They were unable to get done what they wished and they left Jerusalem. Till the coming of the "Teacher of Righteousness" they were to obey the interpretations of the Law which had been given by "the Lawgiver," - i.e. their leader in the movement. They were a sect seeking a higher righteousness. Theirs was an ethical and religious movement. They recognised the value of the prophets. Charles gives 18- 8 B.C. as the probable date of the work showing that the party was in existence still in the time of Jesus.

(c) Men under the power of the spirit were doing
- ^δτέρατα - miracles cf. V⁸; The "Coming Age"
was in this way making its power and presence already felt. The gift of the Spirit by which men were enabled to do these miracles was associated by these who did them with Jesus. These priests may quite well have been convinced in this way that Jesus was the Messiah. This would not necessarily mean that they would consider the Temple services obsolete. They might acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah and continue in the priesthood and in the Temple. On the other hand they might consider that Jesus, the Messiah, would soon return in the "Coming Age," that the Temple services were of this age that was fast passing away. They may have completely broken with the Temple. ἐπηύκουον is a strong word and means "transferred their allegiance." Does this mean 'broke completely away.'?

(d) There is a further possibility. This verse
is clear evidence that the priests were
influenced by the Church. There was a party of growing power in the Church that held views antagonistic to the Temple and which/

which drew its inspiration from the prophets. Some of its members were doing miracles among the people in the name of Jesus. The influence of the Hellenistic party may have swept them away from the Temple altogether.

We cannot determine how far material considerations within the priesthood may have influenced these priests spoken of here, but the Zadokite Fragment is evidence that we are not to consider an ethical and religious revival within the priesthood an impossibility. There was much in the Christianity of the time to arrest the attention of the priests and make them consider the relationship of Christianity to the Temple.

(2) Did their coming over to Christianity mean a clean break of these priests with the Temple? If their views were as described in (c) above, it might or might not. If the influence that made them Christian was Hellenistic (see (d) above) it would mean a complete break with the Temple.

In any case the author of Acts is putting a second circumstance in the developing situation before us. Christianity has now invaded the priesthood and the Temple. Christianity that is led by Hellenists cannot live peaceably with the Temple and there is a strong and fervent Hellenistic section in the Church. As this section grows the clash between Church and Temple must come. The Temple authorities cannot for long neglect the Church, for the Church is now drawing members from the ranks of the priesthood. We are ready now for the clash of opposing forces and it came through Stephen.

ACTS 6⁸ - 7¹.

This Section describes how Stephen rose into prominence. His arguments with certain members of the synagogue led to his being brought before the Sanhedrin.

6⁸. Stephen is described as full of grace and power.

Here we have the adjective *πλήρης* 'full' cf. 6⁵.

This might suggest a linking back with 6¹⁻⁶ and that 6⁷ is an interpolation into the narrative. We rather think that the author means to show the reason why the clash came between Church and Temple. Stephen was a man of power through the spirit and was actively working among the people. He was a centre of force.

The Apostles attended at the Temple speaking of Jesus. They carried on propaganda *κατ' οἶκον* - from house to house. It is noteworthy that Stephen works "among the people." Was he there because the affinity of himself and his party was with the people? In any case it is a new departure in missionary enterprise. Stephen is outside the Temple, among the people, in the streets.

6⁹. There rose up, etc. - Here we come to a vexed question.

How many synagogues are meant? Some have thought three, some two, and others one.

It is necessary to examine the passage in the original.

*Τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης
Λιβερτινῶν καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῶν
ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας συνήγαστες*

We notice here that *συναγωγῆς* is in the singular and that two groups are meant

The/

The passage has been rendered in the following different ways.

(a) Some of those of the synagogue of the Libertini and of the Cyrenians and Alexandrians. This rendering has sometimes been taken to imply 3 synagogues and sometimes to mean one. If 3 had been meant we would surely have had $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omega\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$

(b) Another rendering sometimes given is 'Some of these of the synagogue called 'of the Libertini' and of the Cyrenians, and Alexandrians' meaning the members of a synagogue along with a group from Cyrene and Alexandria, along with another group from Cilicia and Asia.

(c) We have the rendering given in "The Beginnings of Christianity. Vol IV. p. 66).

"Some of those of the synagogue of the Libertini, both Cyrenians and Alexandrians and of these from Cilicia and Asia. The editors point out that the translation has the disadvantage of making the Cyrenians and Alexandrians co-ordinate with the Libertini but they add that the readers of the passage would be able to avoid this mistake out of their own knowledge of things. They also add that it is quite possible that the Jews who were Libertini may have had synagogues in many places throughout the Empire and that there may have been Cyrenians and Alexandrians amongst them.

In all probability the last remark leads us to a right understanding of the passage. Those who rose up against Stephen were members of the Libertini synagogues whose homes were in Cyrene and Alexandria. That was one group. There was another group from Cilicia and Asia. Libertini/

Libertini - Libertini were Jews who had been freed from slavery. Many of them had been taken by Pompey as prisoners of war. The term therefore denotes social status. The conjunction of a term for a social position with these place names, especially where one synagogue was understood, was felt to be awkward. An early emendation of the text was *Λιβυδτίνων* - Libyans. This would give two definite geographical areas - a North-African area and the area of Cilicia and Asia. The emendation is rather easy and therefore suspect. Again (vide Beg. of Christianity Vol IV. p. 66). *τῆς λιγομείνης* seems in Luke to indicate a foreign name, or the translation of a foreign term.

Λιβεριτίνων would therefore be the Greek form of the Latin - Libertini. There is no good reason for changing it. As explained above the people concerned were Libertini hailing from Cyrene and Alexandria.

Libertini from Cyrene and Alexandria - Roman freedmen would naturally have an acquaintance with Roman religion and the morality that went along with it. There was much in both to offend Jewish feeling. Living at Cyrene and Alexandria, these Jews would know that under such liberalizing teaching as that of Philo, some Jews in Egypt had begun to neglect the observances of the national faith. Their own previous contact with Roman religion was calculated to make them more fundamentalist in their religious opinions than they had ever been. Hating all that tended to weaken the national faith, they would be ardent enemies of liberal Greek thought and of the unorthodox views of the Hellenists within/

within Judaism.

Cilicia and Asia Minor - We see from the case of St. Paul

how strongly orthodox some of the Jews in that district could be, for Paul was from Cilicia.

Both groups - that from North Africa and that from Cilicia and Asia Minor - show us that some of the most ardent supporters of the orthodox faith came from abroad.

Did Stephen belong to the Synagogue here mentioned?

If it was a synagogue of the Libertini it is most unlikely.

The text certainly does not say so. He may have come from North Africa (see below p. ⁴¹¹153). In that case we can the more easily understand the opposition from the Cyrenians and Alexandrians. Here was the unorthodox opinion which they knew so well and hated in North Africa, invading the very home of the faith.

6¹⁰. They disputed with Stephen but could not withstand the (σοφία) wisdom and the spirit with which he spoke.

σοφία (wisdom) here means 'insight.'

He had also the spirit which gave him utterance.

6¹¹. They could not defeat Stephen in argument. They now prompt men to say "We have heard him say blasphemous words against Moses and against God."

blasphemous - blasphemy here is used in the sense of

language insulting to the majesty of God and to the great position of Moses. It is not used in the strict legal sense of the Jewish Law as an offence involving the use of the name of God.

6¹²./

612. The people and the elders were now roused to action:
 so were the Scribes, the interpreters of the Law.
 Stephen is forcibly brought to the Sanhedrin, the
 Council which was the guardian of the national faith.
 False witnesses were set up.

613-14. The charge before the Sanhedrin now runs "This man does
 not cease speaking words against this holy place and
 the Law. For we have heard him say that this Jesus
 of Nazareth will destroy this place and change the customs
 which Moses handed down to us."

Υιουδαις — Stephen did speak against the Holy Place
 and the Law and the Customs. He had his own theory
 about them and his own explanation of them. To be fair
 to Stephen the witnesses should have given his considered
 explanation. They gave the impression, and intentionally
 so, that Stephen's conception of Jesus was of one who
 was the bitter enemy of the Temple and Law, and who would
 come ruthlessly to destroy both simply as the bitter
 enemy of both. If we can judge from the speech the
 nature of what he said in argument with the members of
 the synagogue, Stephen's position on Law and Temple was
 a reasoned one and one which could not be expressed in a
 few words. In that the words of the charge give a totally
 wrong impression of Stephen and his method of dealing
 with the questions of the Law and the Temple, the witness-
 -es were false -

TWO CHARGES - The first was that Stephen spoke blasphemously
 against Moses and God.

11

13:4

The second was that he spoke against the
Holy Place (The Temple) and the Law.

There/

There is no difference in substance between the two charges. They are different ways of expressing the same thing, but each of them is framed to catch the ear of those whom it is intended to arouse. Words against Moses, who in their belief had received the Law from God, would speedily arouse the people and the elders and the Scribes. The Temple Cultus was part of the Law - the part in which the High-Priest was particularly interested. In their charge before him the accusers single out the Temple.

This place - means the Temple cf. Schürer, G.J.V. Div. 11 Vol 1. p. 190, where it is explained that the Sanhedrin met on the west side of the Temple Mount. 'This place' then means 'this place and surroundings where we are met.'

6¹⁵. A verse descriptive of Stephen's countenance as he faced his trial. It gives the opposite impression from that given by the words of his accusers. There he was a scoundrel; here he is a saint. There is a touch of deep and intimate pity in the verse.

7¹. The High-Priest asks if the charge is true.

The clash between Church and Temple that we saw developing has now come. With Stephen Hellenistic Christianity is on its trial before the High Priest.

CHAPTER/

CHAPTER II.

STEPHEN'S SPEECH. Acts 7² - 7⁵³.

7². 'The God of Glory' - This is a determinative phrase, showing the line which Stephen is to follow. It is about God that he is to speak, the God of the Glory. It is important, therefore, to discover what meaning Stephen and his hearers found in this description of God. This phrase occurs here only in the N.T. but cf. Eph. 1¹⁷, 'the father of the Glory' and 1 Cor. 2⁸ - 'the Lord of the Glory.' In 1 Peter 4¹⁴, there is the phrase 'The Spirit of the Glory!' In James 2¹ Jesus seems to be called 'the Glory'.

I. It will be helpful to consider first the history of the word *δόξα*. Prof. H.A.A. Kennedy has an interesting note on the change of meaning of the word in Classical and Biblical literature. He shows that

(a) In Classical literature it means -

- (1) expectation, (2) sentiment, (3) opinion, (4) estimation or good opinion, (5) credit.

(b) In the LXX it almost invariably translates one

of the three Hebrew words (1) קִדְּשָׁה =

glory (150 times); (2) קָדַשׁ =

beauty, splendour, glory, (200 times); and (3)

קִדְּשָׁה = majesty (3 times).

(c)/

(c) In the N.T. the word occurs 150 times. It is very frequently applied to God in the sense of 'praise' or 'honour.' A special sense which is quite unknown to Greek literature and has arisen under LXX influence is the use of *δόξα* in such passages as Acts 22¹¹, (the glory of that light), 2 Cor. 3⁷, 1 Cor. 15⁴¹, (the glory of the moon, etc).

The word reaches its most exalted meaning when it is applied to the Divine glory, reminiscent of the late Jewish use of "Shekinah" which was associated with the idea of dazzling light e.g. John 1¹⁴.

(The above note by Prof. Kennedy is quoted by G.H. Box in "The People and the Book" p. 437).

Prof. Kennedy mentions "The Shekinah."

This is not an O.T. word. It belongs to late Jewish times when Jewish thought looked upon the anthropomorphic expressions of the O.T. as unworthy of God. To prevent these unworthy materializing thoughts of the Divine nature, certain words e.g. Wisdom, Ruach, Ha' Qodesh, Memra, Shekinah, were used for God; e.g. 'God dwells' became 'The Skekinah rests.'

We must note, however, that the Shekinah is not the Glory. The 'Glory' is derivative from the Shekinah which is a step nearer God. The word 'Glory' in this connection then suggests the majesty and transcendence of God. It represents an invisible and universal presence. But this 'glory' was seen by those highly privileged/

privileged by God, e.g. by the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel at the time of their call. It is a word then for the God who is never wholly seen or wholly known, but who is universally present and may be seen by the highly privileged. It ^{is} was the side of God that was turned towards the world. It is thus a term of revelation. God is never wholly seen but he reveals himself to his chosen.

II. Isaiah and Ezekiel beheld the 'Glory.' What do their visions tell us about it? (cf Isaiah 6: ^{Is} Ezek 1.)

Isaiah has his vision in the Temple and hears the words 'the whole earth is full of His glory,' i.e. God is in the Temple and everywhere. God's majesty, transcendence, His ~~k~~ kingship and sovereignty are all contained in the idea of 'glory' in this vision of Isaiah. It is over all the world. The universality of God's presence is emphasized.

In Ezekiel's vision God's power is concentrated in Himself, but for Ezekiel "Jehovah is far, but at the same time everywhere present everywhere and nowhere, Jehovah comes when his hour is come."

(Duhm on Is. 30²⁷ quoted by Skinner "The Book of Ezekiel p. 41). Skinner says this applies to Ezekiel as much as to Isaiah. Universality and omnipresence are characteristics of the Divine nature covered by the word 'glory' in these prophets.

In Ezekiel's vision it is only an 'appearance' that is seen. The 'glory' is derivative: it is not God in the fullness of His Being and Power of. Exodus 33²³ where Moses does not see the face of God but only/

only receives an after-look when the 'glory' has passed by. All the prophets are conscious that they never grasp the fullness of God's being and will. They learn something additional to what others have received before them, but there is always much more remaining to be learned.

(For a discussion of God's 'Glory' in Isaiah and Ezekiel see Skinner 'The Book of Ezekiel' pp. 27-41).

Stephen had inherited this phrase, with all its rich suggestions, from the past. What significance did he intend it to convey? He meant it to suggest to his hearers the sublimity and transcendence of God. It is for Stephen a term of great reverence. He intends it to convey ideas of God's universal sovereignty, of His omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence - "Everywhere and nowhere Jehovah comes when His hour is come." He means by it that God is a God not shut up in Himself, but who shows Himself and reveals Himself and that progressively.

With this term of great reverence on his lips Stephen begins his defence. It is about this God he is going to speak, the God who reveals himself, who is omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, Lord over nature and man, knowing all things and the end from the beginning.

72. 'God of Glory appeared to our father Abraham' -: There was a theophany to Abraham. Revelation is the beginning of their national life and national faith.

God/

God takes the initiative here. Israel did not choose Yahweh nor discover Him. Yahweh chose Israel and revealed himself to Abraham. The revelation to Abraham and the call of the nation through him is God's doing. The emphasis is on God's grace in choosing Abraham and revealing Himself to him.

Our father - Stephen claims a right in Abraham. Stephen is a Jew then.

'In Mesopotamia' before he emigrated to Harran, God appears to Abraham at a place far removed from Palestine. He appears to him in Mesopotamia. "Everywhere God comes when his hour is come."

'Before he dwelt in Harran' - Stephen is taking a definite and distinct line of tradition here. In Genesis 11³² - 12^{2f} the appearance takes place in Harran after they had left Ur but in Genesis 15⁷, Josh. 24³, Neh. 9⁷, there is evidence of a clear tradition that the appearance and call took place in Ur. Stephen definitely accepts this tradition. The call comes in Ur sometimes reckoned by the Greeks to be in Mesopotamia.

We must note that Philo (DE. Abrah.) follows this tradition.

⁷⁴. 'After the death of his father' - Stephen points here to the 'pietas' of Abraham. He observed his duty to his aged father.

But cf. Genesis 11²⁶ Terah was 75 when Abraham was born.

" 12⁴ Abraham was 75 when he left Harran.

" 12³² Terah was 205 when he died in Harran.

According/

According to these figures Abraham left Harran before his father's death.

Again we note that Philo also says that it was after Terah's death that Abraham left.

'He made him to move' - God is the subject. It is about Him that Stephen is chiefly speaking although at the same time he is showing the perfection and nobility of Abraham's character and his response to God in faith.

⁷⁵. 'He gave him no inheritance, not a pace's length in it' .

The rising feeling of the speaker must be noted. He is gripped by his subject. He repeats the negative for emphasis. There is no territorial inheritance given to Abraham, only a Promise that it would be given to him and his seed after him, although as yet he had no child.

Abraham, the father of the nation and the great man of God had no territorial inheritance in Canaan. His perfect walk with God was independent of any possession of the Jewish Holy Land. He had no inheritance but had faith. He had faith that God would fulfil his Promise although as yet he had no heir.

⁷⁶⁻⁷. 'God spake thus' In virtue of His omniscience God knows the end from the beginning and all that will happen in between. For 400 years the children of Israel will be enslaved. Then they shall "come forth and worship in this place." The emphasis is not placed on the territorial inheritance. It is a sphere for worship that is to be given.

Exodus 12⁴⁰ has 430 years of slavery: With this Gal. 3¹⁷ agrees.

Genesis 15¹³⁻¹⁴ has 400 years: with this Philo and Stephen agree.

The/

The LXX has 430 but adds to ^{in Gen?} ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ
the words ^{καὶ} ἐν γῇ Χαναν

'in this place' This is a reminiscence from Exodus 3¹² which refers to Horeb but the place here meant by the phrase is Palestine.

7⁸. 'He gave him a Covenant of Circumcision.' - Stephen makes only a curt reference to circumcision and hurries on. In the time of Jesus and Stephen the Sabbath and Circumcision were institutions of the first importance to the Jew. They were the marks that distinguished the Jews from the surrounding people. A contractual sense had come by this time to be attached to the covenant-relationship. There were two parties to the contract - God and the nation. The nation's part was the honouring of the Sabbath and the rite of Circumcision with the other requirements of the Law. If the nation fulfilled its part, God must do his which was to give his chosen people the Kingdom. The perfect keeping of the Law meant automatically the coming of the Kingdom.

In the O.T. the word for Covenant ^{ברית} means an 'alliance of friendship' cf. Gen. 21²⁷, Josh. 9⁶ etc. Its technical religious sense is an extension of this. There were several covenants, - with Noah, Abraham and Moses, etc. The most important of them was that with Moses when the Law was given. These Covenants were initiated by God. They were marks of his grace. There had to be a response in some form or other on the part of the person or persons concerned. The response in the Covenant with Abraham was the observance of the rite of Circumcision. As the contractual idea of the Covenant- relationship developed the emphasis tended to fall on the rights and claims of the Jew if he fulfilled his part. God's grace in giving the Covenant was perhaps not forgotten but it was apt to become obscured. It is/

is this aspect of God's grace in giving the Covenant which Stephen recalls to the minds of his hearers. God out of his good-will gave them a Covenant of Circumcision. The claims of the Jew for keeping the Covenant through the rite of circumcision he puts in the background. The Covenant as he understands it is no contract between parties. It is a gift of God and is given as a seal to the Promise which God in His grace has also given.

7⁸⁻⁹. "And so" - meaning 'under these conditions the fathers were born and circumcised.'

'The patriarchs moved with envy' - *ζηλος* (envy) broke in on the ideal relationship between God and man then obtaining. The patriarchs, out of envy, sold Joseph into Egypt although Joseph had been appointed and called by God. God called him through dreams. This is the first instance of the rejection by the people of a man appointed and called of God. This is a recurring note throughout the speech.

7⁹. 'God was with him.' He was rejected by his brothers but not forgotten or forsaken by God. God was with him. Notice God is with him in Egypt. The God-guided life of the people at this time is all lived outside Palestine.

7¹⁰. 'God delivered him and gave him favour and wisdom before Pharaoh and made him governor over Egypt and all his house' [?]

DELIVERANCE is another recurrent note in the speech. God gave Joseph *βολη* and through it made him great in Pharaoh's eyes. Stephen had it cf. 6¹⁰. In both these passages it means "insight." Joseph had/

had insight into the meaning of Pharoah's dreams and into God's purposes. It was with want of insight that Stephen reproaches the Jews cf. 7²⁵.

"Moses thought they would understand" but they did~~not~~ not. They had no insight into God's purposes and had missed the mark of their high calling because of this. This insight has a very important place in the speech.

Made him governor - There is no change of subject. God is the subject in the whole sentence cf. Gen 45⁸. It must be noted that the Gentile Pharoah is not outside the range of God's Providence. There is a sympathetic feeling towards the Gentile in the sentence. Pharoah, under God's tuition, was kind.

7¹¹⁻¹². God controls nature as well as man and makes it help forward His purpose. Nature and human history become united through God who controls both. The patriarchs must be brought down to Egypt, for God's prophecy had said it. God causes a famine in Canaan. The patriarchs must move to Egypt in quest of food. They ultimately settle there. God's purpose is effected and he has made nature assist him in it.

7¹³. 'On their second visit' - There is for Stephen a mystery about this. Only on their second visit was Joseph's identity revealed to his brothers and his lineage to Pharoah.

7¹⁴. Joseph brought Jacob and his family down to Egypt. There were 75 people in the family group.

The/

The number 75 agrees with the LXX of Gen. 46²⁷ and Exod. 1⁵. The Hebrew text has 70. The Hebrew includes Jacob and Joseph and Joseph's two sons. The LXX does not include Jacob and Joseph but gives nine children to Joseph instead of the two in the Hebrew text. Stephen follows the text of the LXX.

ἐν ἑβραϊστικῇ γλώσσῃ

- The

language here is from Deut. 10²², in LXX text though the number there is 70.

715. Jacob and his family went down to Egypt. There was a period of rest. The patriarchs died in Egypt and were moved to Sychem and laid in the tomb "which Abraham had bought for a price of silver from Emmor at Sychem." Stephen suggests there was a period of rest which must now end, but he also points out that when the patriarchs were buried in Canaan all that the Israelites possessed there was a tomb. Even that was not theirs by inheritance. They had bought it.

'Which Abraham had bought for a price of silver from Emmor at Sychem.' This is a passage which is hard to

reconcile with the relevant passages in the

O.T. According to Stephen Jacob and his sons were buried in Sychem in Samaria but cf. Gen 49³⁰: 50¹³ where we are told Jacob was buried in Hebron "in the field of Machpelah which Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite before Mamre (Hebron). In the scriptural narrative cf. Josh 24³² Exod. 13⁹ only Joseph is buried in Shechem --- in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem. Stephen/

Stephen says Abraham bought this ground. In the Testament Joseph²⁰⁶ Joseph too is buried in Hebron. Jackson-Lake (Beg. of Christ. Vol IV. p. 74 note) ✓ Explain the difficulty in Acts 7¹⁶ by suggesting that Stephen 'has telescoped' the two separate accounts in Gen 23³⁻¹⁶ and Gen. 33¹⁹. This is possible but the situation of the graves of the patriarchs was an important matter in the eyes of the Jews. The Test. Joseph shows there were variant traditions about the matter. There may have been a Sychem tradition claiming that all the patriarchs were buried there and that Abraham had bought the ground. Stephen accepts this tradition as the true one. Sychem is in Samaria . The only possession the patriarchs had in Canaan was a tomb bought for silver and it was in hated Samaria.

717-19. 'The time of the Promise drew nigh -- Bartlet (Acts ad. loc) // Well says "this is one of the resonant notes in the address". The time had come for Israel to strike her tents and for history again to go on the march.

God was directing all that was done, yet the human agent concerned was unaware of it. He used, as he thought, his own judgement, and took measures that were dictated by prudential considerations which were natural in the circumstances. There was now in Egypt a Pharoah of another dynasty who knew nothing about Joseph. He was naturally alarmed at the growth of the slave population in Egypt. He took steps to keep that population down. The male children of the Hebrews were to be exposed to die.

Βασιλεὺς ἑτέρου.

- a King of another dynasty.

720-29.

We now come to the history of Moses. He was born under the severe law that the Hebrew male children should be exposed to die. But God is directing events in His own way. God gave Moses as a child an exceptional beauty. Pharoah's daughter was made an agent in the carrying out of God's plan for the deliverance of his people. She found the child Moses on the river where he had been exposed, after having been kept 3 months at home. She was attracted by the beauty of the child, saved him and adopted him as her son. He had the best education Egypt could give, and became expert in all the learning known to the Egyptians. He became a powerful speaker and a man of action. He had endowments of heart, as well as of mind and hand. He had love of the brethren too, that *ἡ ἀγάπη* that Christianity was later to write on its banners. He had a keen interest in his Hebrew kin. He defended one of them against an Egyptian who was ill-treating him. He thought the Hebrews would have the insight to see that he wished to deliver them but again they failed to understand. Another incident occurs. This time some of the Hebrews are fighting among themselves. Moses reminds them of their brotherhood and kinship and tries to make peace. They fail again to understand his purpose. 'Who made you a ruler and judge over us?' they ask. 'Do you wish to kill us as you did the Egyptian yesterday?' In this way they reject their friend, their brother and their deliverer. Moses is alarmed. His killing of the Egyptian has become public/

public knowledge. He fled to Midian where 2 sons were born to him. He was 40 years of age when he first tried to help his kinsmen. He is in Midian another period of 40 years.

In this passage 7²⁰⁻²⁹ we find the recurrent notes that run through the whole speech. These are - the Providence of God using human agents for ~~his~~ purposes even when these agents are unaware of the real part they are playing, the note of deliverance, the failure of the Hebrews to have insight into God's purposes for them and their rejection of the leaders God has sent.

We must note too the sympathetic attitude towards things Egyptian, towards Egyptian learning for instance; Pharoah's daughter under the Providence of God is kind. Pharoah is harsh but God requires him too that he may fulfil his purpose.

ACTS 7²⁰ ὁστίος τῷ θεῷ.

'Beautiful before God.' This is an LXX idiom

cf. Jonah 3³ 'Nineveh was a great City before God' - πρὸς μεγάλη τῷ θεῷ

For the expression cf. Gen. 10⁹ 'Nimrod was a mighty hunter before God' - LXX ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ θεοῦ.

Jackson-Lake (Beg. of Chr. Vol IV. ad loc) says that this idiom is apparently a strong superlative and that the explanation of the idiom is that 'even for God' (who has different standards). Nineveh was a great city and Nimrod a great hunter.

Is there not another explanation of the idiom? God was the source of all good power. He it was who gave skill, excellence, might and beauty. God took pleasure in Nimrod and gave him this excellence, in Nineveh and gave it this greatness, in Moses/

Moses and gave him this beauty. This is almost certainly the meaning Stephen wishes to convey here. It is God-given beauty. It is exceptional, coming from Him God's gift is the prominent idea. The beauty of Moses was part of God's Providential plan for the deliverance of his people. 'Beautiful before God' - "beautiful as he must be beautiful who had this relationship to God".

- ²²
7 - the wisdom of Moses. The education of Moses is not referred to in the O.T. Philo 'De Vita Moys.' speaks of it at length and with great enthusiasm "he speedily learned arithmetic and geometry and the whole science of rhythm and music, etc".
- ²²
7 - 'powerful in words' - Contrast Exodus 4¹⁰ 'I am not eloquent.'
- ²⁹
7 - 'begat two sons' - We are given to understand by this that he had separated himself from Israel completely and settled down in Midian.

30-40
7

It is now that God calls him to his great work. Moses had had human sympathy before, which made him try to be Israel's deliverer. It was his period of preparation. Now he has the call of God. God calls him, outside Canaan, in Midian. There is the theophany in the burning bush and the voice of God speaking to his servant and sending him as deliverer to Israel in Egypt/

Egypt. This man, whom Israel had refused, God sends to lead them through the Red Sea and the desert. This man, so highly endowed in many ways, with a period of training and preparation behind him and now so signally called by God, was a prophet too and prophesied that God would raise up another prophet like himself. This man was with God in conference when he led the Israelites to Sinai and from God he received "living oracles" to give us, but our fathers refused to obey him. "They preferred the idolatry of Egypt to Yahweh of the "living word."

It is evident that what Stephen has to say about Moses is the central part of the speech. What has preceded it is important in itself in many ways, important as revelation. But, more than that, at the same time he has been leading up to and preparing for this great central figure of Jewish history. Part of the charge against Stephen was "that he spoke against Moses." Stephen is showing that for him Moses is as grand and glorious a figure as for any of his accusers. For him Moses is a greater figure than for them. For Stephen he is a type of a greater One who was to come, who, Stephen said and believed, had come. Moses in his person and work was the type of this One. His person and work were prophetic of His Coming, even as his prediction had said He would some day come.

⁷30 - 40 years - Deut. 34⁷ says Moses was 120 years old when he died. There is nothing in the O.T. about these periods of 40 years/

40 years but according to certain rabbinical traditions there were 3 periods of 40 years. That is the tradition followed by Stephen.

7³⁰ - an angel appeared - There was a theophany to Moses as there had been to Abraham. The angel is the angel of the Presence. 'The angel,' 'the voice of the Lord' (Acts 7³¹) and the 'The Lord' have all the same significance. They mean simply 'God.'

God spoke directly to Abraham, as it were face to face. In 7³¹ he speaks directly to Moses. He had also had direct communication with Joseph. He inspired him to interpret dreams. This direct communication of God with the leaders He had chosen is of great importance in the doctrine held by Stephen.

7³⁰ - Sinai - As the theophany to Abraham so this one to Moses is outside of Canaan. The ideal life with God is independent of the territorial possession of Canaan.

7³³ - this place is holy ground - the ground is sanctified by God's Presence wherever the ground may be.

7^{35.36.37.38}.
All these verses begin with the repeated word 'This.' 'This Moses,' 'This is the man' etc. The intense feeling of the speaker breaks out in these verses. The whole passage vv. 36-38 refers to the exceptional nature and position of Moses in the world economy of God, and the corresponding enormity of/
of/

40

of the sin of Israel in rejecting such an one.

7³⁵ - λυτρωτής 'Redeemer' - the LXX does
not use this word of Moses but Philo does

ὁν χρις ἀγγέλω is a pure
Semitism - 72? in Hebrew.

7³⁶ - This verse is almost certainly a reminiscence
of the 'Assumption of Moses' 3.11. 'Moysis
..... qui multa passus est in Aegypto
in mari rubro et in heremo XL annos.'

7³⁷ - 'A prophet will God raise up for you from
your brethren. Jackson-
Lake Vol. ad loc), translate 'as he did me.'

Probably the correct translation is the generally accepted
one - 'like me.' Here Moses calls himself a prophet.
The O.T. reference is Deut. 18¹⁵⁻¹⁸. Commentators on the
Hebrew text (e.g. Davidson 'O.T. Prophecy' p. 316.) say
that the prophecy refers not to an individual but to a
succession of individuals. But Stephen understands it
as of an individual, of Jesus. A prophet is a bearer of
Revelation. The prophet, who is to come, will bring a
fresh revelation and have authority similar to that of
Moses. Moffatt (Art. Encycl. Biblic) says with reference
to the passage "It is of cardinal moment as it stands -
destroying the Jewish claim that the Law and the Cultus
were final."

7³⁸. 'This is he who was in the ecclesia in the
wilderness. "There are various indications
that the Jewish teachers had already taken
the/

the word 'ecclesia' and stamped it with a peculiar meaning.

It denoted for them the congregation of Israel in its ideal aspect as the assembly of God's people. It expresses the idea not only of a community but of a holy community (E.F. Scott "The Beginnings of the Church" p. 34). The use of ecclesia in v.³⁸ cf. 8¹⁻³ is deliberate. "The author hints at the normal attitude of the early Christians who never dreamt of forming a new sect but of continuing and developing the ancient people of God" (Moffatt^t Art. Encycl. Bib). This was Israel as she ought to be - a holy people under God's Presence and with the guidance of the God-appointed leader and prophet. Stephen claims that the early Church is such an assembly.

7³⁸ - 'Living Oracles'

This is one of the two crucial passages in the speech. The other is 7⁵³. It is a pity that both are so obscure. What are we to understand by *λογία ζωντα* ? Practically all commentators say that 'the living oracles' are the Law. Some of these opinions are here given.

"The Law, the oracles of which were 'full of latent power and vitality' "

(Bartlet. Acts ad loc).

"The Revelation in the Law was living and meant to give life."

(Rackham - Acts of the Apostles)
ad loc.

"A spiritual and heavenly law (*λογία ζωντα* :

: vim vitalem habentes (Blass))

they had received yet only to be unfaithful to it by turning it into a dead letter."

(Moffatt Encyc. Bibl. ad loc).

Stephen/

42

" Stephen argues vehemently that a true allegiance to the Law would lead its devotees to Jesus."
(Ibid).'

"Philo compares the Law with the living power of seed. (Gal 3^{2cf})"

21f

(Menzies in Peakes Commentary)
Acts 7³⁸.

"The Law is in 7³⁸ called by Stephen 'living oracles' (*λογία ζῶντα*) not because it is spiritually significant and inspired but because Moses is to Stephen the complete type of Christ, Moses, who even as Christ, has, as the bearer of the Revelation of God, to experience the enmity of the people. The thought of Gal. 3¹⁹ Heb 2² 'that the mediation of the Law by angels indicates its lesser worth, is far removed from Acts 7³⁸⁻⁵³. Thus Stephen has seen in the preaching of Jesus nothing other than the full content of that which Israel had already possessed since Moses, but which has become obscured and of none effect. Contrary to the Barnabas letter, Judaism is a religion, *still of pure externals*, standing in sharp contrast to Christianity as the free religion of the spirit, and whose content assuredly arises out of the O.T. but yet only traceable by the help of allegorical exegesis."

translation

(Feine - Theologie des Neuen Testaments p. 153-155).

" The Law is to Stephen flatly the living word of God. Paul regards it as incapable of giving life(Ibid).

To/

42

“To Moses God reveals the Law - those living words of God - which men must obey.

Again "Nowhere is it signified that in the present state of affairs a separation from the Law is either permitted or to be expected His (Stephen's) declaration (which was laid to his charge as blasphemy) of an alteration in the Mosaic commands and laws by Jesus of Nazareth, was based on no definite proposals but was to be understood eschatologically."

James Hardy Ropes

(Studien und Kritiken 1930 p.307-312).

"But that the central feature of Moses and his teaching was to be found in that prophetic aspect, Moses himself, according to Stephen, impressed on his people when he cried to them "a prophet shall the Lord, your God, raise up to you like unto me *ὡς ἐγώ* ": on that lies the emphasis. For by that it was shown that the teaching of Moses was originally in the mind of its Divine author and His human agent prophetic in nature i.e. a religion of the soul and spirit, and this point also that it should remain so in the future and evermore preserve its original form. But as God's messenger Moses has the *λογία ᾧ ὄντα* for that prophetic development of the wilderness *ἐκκλησία* as it were the seed out of which the Israelitish nation was to grow. And what are these *λογία ᾧ ὄντα* ? That the/

the speaker has been thinking at the same time of the Law written on the two tables of stone and the religious ethical commandments thereof, follows from $\dot{\iota}\nu\ \tau\psi\ \delta\acute{\rho}\eta\iota\ \Sigma\iota\nu\sigma\bar{\iota}$. But according to his conception the aim of these $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}$ was essentially the one thing 'life' - that is, the raising and fostering of the true inner life, well pleasing to God, of those to whom they should be brought. Springing from the heart of Jehovah, they should become sparks to kindle in the breasts of men a fire i.e. a feeling and will in tune with the Divine. To that end tended originally the historical teaching of Moses: it was to be a work prophetic in character, in keeping with the nature of its founder, with this aim - to make of enslaved Israel a people prophetic in its way of thinking and living, a people that served its God in spirit and with an obedient heart."

(Pahncke: Studien und Kritiken Oct. 1911.)

b.7

All these quotations equate the $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omega\nu\tau\alpha$ with the Law. It is not surprising that they do so, because in every case the words in 7⁵³, $\omega\tau\iota\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \nu\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\iota\kappa\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$ are taken to mean "who have received the Law by disposition of angels." Stephen is understood here as speaking highly of the Law. Angels were present and assisted when it was given. If this high opinion of the Law was entertained by him then, these commentators think he must be referring to it in the $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omega\nu\tau\alpha$. In the Law is life they make him say.

We/

We shall see good reason for thinking that 7⁵³ can be very differently translated, that instead of glorify-
-ing the Law in that verse he is far from being complimentary towards it.

W.L. Knox (St. Paul and ^{The} Church ^{of} Jerusalem ad loc) ^{p 55.}
has a different suggestion from the opinions given above.
He refers us to Lightfoot, 'Horae Hebraicae' Vol. IV. p. 88,
where we read -

"The Jews have a trifling fiction that those Israelites who were present at Mount Sinai, and heard the Law pronounced thence by God himself, should have been like the angels, that they should never have begot children nor died, but for the time to come should have been like the angels, had it not been for that fatal and unfortunate crime of theirs in the matter of the Golden Calf cf. on John X³⁵."

The speech of Stephen contains much legendary matter in connection with Moses. From the non-canonical literature we have evidence of legends that were current at the time. Stephen is here in 7³⁸ (*λογίζεσθαι*) referring to some legend of a like nature. He is saying that Moses had something better than the Law to give. He had 'living oracles' to give the people but they would not have them. There must have been some legend such as Lightfoot refers to.

What may we understand by the phrase 'living oracles?' As 'living' water is water flowing fresh from its source, so these 'oracles' came fresh and direct from God. He is the source of life and these oracles had the quality of life. They were not only direct words from God, but they had the quality of life, in that they were effective. As the oracles that came to the prophets direct from God had power over and burned within their souls, so also had these oracles. Hebrews 4¹² refers to "the word of God (that) is living and powerful" and Lc. 24³² has 'Did not our heart burn/'

burn in us as He spoke to us in the way.' The oracles Moses had to give would have lived and 'burned' and been effective in the lives of the Israelites. As coming alive from God they would have brought the hearts of the people into living effective fellowship with God.

These oracles were direct from God. They were such as would have acted directly on the hearts of the Israelites. In this sense there was no mediation, though Moses delivered them. As God had spoken directly to Abraham and Moses so He wished to speak directly to all the people through these 'oracles.' They were not only direct but they were effective oracles.

It is not the Law that is referred to here. The contrast between the Law and the 'oracles' is this. A person by exercising his will to do the Law might bring himself into a sanctified state and so have what may be termed 'life.' But these oracles would act on the soul directly as the oracle of God burned in the soul of the prophet and would bring the soul into perfect service and fellowship with God. These 'living oracles' would have given 'life,' 'power.' The word *λογια* (oracles) reminds us of God's words to the prophets. They were oracles of the Lord. Moses is referred to by Stephen as a prophet who foretells the coming of one like himself. He also, like the prophets, gets oracles from God for the people, living oracles which are not written on tables of stone.

(In conjunction with this note read note p. 55
forward)

Stephen goes on now to speak against the customs. There is a swift transition of thought here.

But our fathers would not obey him but thrust him from them and in their hearts turned back to Egypt saying to Aaron 'make us Gods,' etc.

They turned back not to the flesh-pots but to the idolatry of Egypt. They were impatient. They could not endure as seeing Him who is invisible. They must have a god or gods who were near and visible - they must have idols. Stephen means they were incapable of taking a spiritual view of God or of His service.

7⁴¹.

They turned back to the idolatry they had known in Egypt. They made a golden calf (Exod. 32) and sacrificed to it rejoicing in the work of their hands cf. 7⁴⁸).

7⁴².

παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς λατρεύειν τῷ ὄντι τῶ οὐρανοῦ.

"Gifford has proved that the force of παρέδωκεν. is not merely permissive through his withdrawing his gracious aid but judicial, the appropriate punishment of their defection: it works automatic-ally, one evil leading to another by natural sequence."

(Sanday & Headlam on Rom. 1²⁴).

Our verse then means 'God handed them over as a punishment to worship the host of heaven.

The host of heaven. cf. Deut. 4¹⁹: 17³ 2 Kings 17¹⁶: 21³: Jer. 8²: 19¹³.

The Pentateuch does not say that the Israelites worshipped the 'host of heaven.' It is here an inference from Amos v. 25 f. λατρεύειν cf. Rs. 9⁴: 12¹ for λατρεία. service, worship.

7⁴².

Have ye offered to me slain beasts and sacrifices by the space of forty years in the wilderness?

This is written in the book of the prophets. The quotation is from Amos 5²⁵⁻²⁷.

743.

The quotation from Amos is continued in this form

"Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch and the star of your God Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them and I will carry you away beyond Babylon."

- (1) The Hebrew Text. G.A. Smith (Book of the Twelve Prophets Vol. I. p. 171) says with reference to this passage in the Hebrew that the text is quite uncertain.

One thing, he says, is clear. In the Hebrew both the grammar and the text oblige us to take the verb as future "and ye shall lift up." The most, according to him, that can be made of the remainder of the text is "But ye shall lift up your king and your god, images which you have made for yourselves: and I will carry you away, into exile far beyond Damascus.

The Hebrew consonants in the gaps above are

וישב and יישב

Schrader takes the first to be Sikkut, the name of an Assyrian god: the second he takes to be Kewan the Assyrian name for the planet Saturn. (See G.A. Smith ad. loc. p. 172).

G.A. Smith is not convinced by this explanation.

- (II) LXX Text. - In any case the text followed by Stephen was not the Hebrew one but the LXX.

How does the LXX translate the Hebrew?

It has

καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μωλὸχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὁμων Ραίφαν [Ρεφάν (α)] τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν (οὐ ΑΑ) ὡς ἐποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς

"Ye took up the tent of Moloch and the star of your god Raiphan (Raphan), their images which you made for yourselves."

We/

We must notice here that the verb is changed from a future in the Hebrew to an Aorist in the LXX.

For Kewan the LXX reads Raiphan, Rephan, and takes

𐤓𐤓𐤕 = 𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤕. . It also takes 'your king'
𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤔 as a proper name = Moloch.

(III) Now we must ask (a) What did Amos say according to the Hebrew text and (b) What did he say according to the LXX.

(a) According to the Hebrew text he said - Was it flesh or meal offerings that ye brought me in the wilderness, forty years, O house of Israel? (Amos 5²⁵ translation by G.A. Smith Twelve Prophets Vol. I. p. 170-171).

The answer expected is "No." They did not bring offerings to Yahweh then but Yahweh prospered them then without offerings being made. But Yahweh will put them into exile now despite all their offerings. Amos 5²⁶ says "But ye shall lift up your king and your god, images which you have made, and I will carry you away into exile far beyond Damascus," i.e. you and your false worship and images will be carried off into exile.

The images here mentioned belong to Amos's own time. It is to the images used by his contemporaries, not to any idolatry of the wilderness period that he is referring. When there was no sacrifice God prospered Israel and gave them possession of Canaan. Despite their sacrifices now He will drive them out of Canaan, images and all, for what God wants is social justice and righteousness.

(b)/

(b) What did Amos say according to the LXX?

The verb is here in the Aorist (*ἔλαβον*)

'Ye took up.'

They took up 'the tabernacle of Moloch.'

According to Scripture the cult of Melech or Moloch was introduced into Israel by Solomon I Kings 11⁷. We have references to this cult in Lev. 18²¹ and 20²⁻⁵, 2 Kings 23¹⁰, Jer. 32³⁵.

Pahncke says that Moloch was a Canaanitish divinity of the Sun and Sky and that by Rephan probably Saturn is meant. (Studien und Krit. Oct 1911).

Stephen understood the verse in the LXX to mean that then in the desert period the Israelites took up (Aorist) in connection with the worship of these gods, the tabernacle of Moloch (Sun) and the Star of Rephan (Saturn) images which they had made, i.e. Stephen understands Amos to say that there was worship of the 'host of heaven' during the desert period.

Amos says in both Hebrew and LXX texts that the people will be carried away 'beyond Damascus.' Stephen makes him say 'beyond Babylon.' This is an interesting and easily intelligible slip. The great exile was in Babylon. Why did the editor of Acts not correct this? It was in the document evidently which he was using. He respected his authorities. This was Stephen's mistake or the document's. It must stand. It is an interesting point in many ways.

To/

To the modern mind it seems strange that Stephen should include the last line in his quotation. He makes the threatened exile 'beyond Babylon' the result of the idolatry in the wilderness period. Two considerations explain the inclusion of the line. Stephen's interest is in the idolatry in the wilderness which, according to his LXX text, he finds in Amos. He adds the last line to complete the quotation. It may be that ^{so}. The second consideration is that no Jew was ever much troubled about the context of the passage he was using. It was a far cry from the period of the wilderness to the time of Amos and a further one to the time of the exile beyond Damascus, or that other exile in Babylon but the threat of exile was there in the text and the text must stand and with it the connection of the threatened exile with the idolatry in the wilderness. This is probably the correct explanation. It is not likely that Stephen reasoned that the meaning of the passage was that ever since the days of the wilderness the people had been idolaters and that exile beyond Damascus or Babylon was to be their punishment.

7⁴⁴. There is now another swift transition of thought. The first transition from Moses to Sacrifice had been in 7³⁹⁻⁴⁰. Now Stephen passes quickly and naturally from sacrifice to Temple, from the Cultus to the Temple building. The connection is supplied by the word 'tabernacle' in v⁴³.

Ὁκηνη τῷ μαρτυρίῳ - 'Tabernacle of the testimony'

.so/

so called probably because it contained 'the ark of the testimony' Exodus 25²². The tabernacle or tent of testimony or witness Stephen says, was shown in pattern to Moses by God. It was divinely ordained cf. Hebrews 8²⁻⁵.

7⁴⁵ .

The fathers brought this 'tent of witness' with them into the possession of the Gentiles whom God drove out before them.

We have to notice here that God granted success to his people while they were content with the tabernacle. Notice it was God who drove out the Gentiles. It was He who gave success and this success continued until David's time.

Now we can see why, in Stephen's opinion, the 'tent of testimony' was superior to the Temple. It was

- (1) ordained by God,
- (2) Movable and could be taken with the people as a witness to God's presence with them.
- (3) It was in no way magnificent in structure. It was important as a witness or symbol of the Presence.

To these we should probably add -

- (4) With it Israel had success. With the Temple disruption of the Kingdom.

7⁴⁶ .

DAVID. He had been the great King of Israel. The Jews of Stephen's time looked back to his reign as the 'Golden Age' of the past. There were views of the Messiah that did not associate him with the Royal house of David but the O.T. prophets did think that he would be a 'Son of David' and much of the messianic thought of Stephen's time looked for a Messiah of David's line. Stephen says that David was a man 'Who found favour with God.' It was God who/

who gave him his success. Stephen never allows us to forget that the glory must at all times be given to God. It was God who made David what he was. David asked to find a

σκήνωμα (a dwelling) for the house of Jacob.

Some MSS have σκῆ

for σκῆ and some critics accept this but the weight of manuscript authority is in favour of σκῆ

What did Stephen mean by σκήνωμα . He no doubt meant that it was something of the same order as the σκηνή . It was a departure from it but not a total deviation from the idea of it. It was to be a tent-dwelling where the house of Jacob could meet with God. Did he think of it as movable? He did not conceive of it as magnificent.

Stephen honours David. He "found favour with God." He wished to build a σκήνωμα which was not entirely wrong, although there was here an undesirable wish for change away from the simplicity of the divinely-ordained σκηνή . But Solomon was entirely wrong. Solomon built for him a house. This was a total departure from the divinely-ordained σκηνή .

Stephen honours David but is not too enthusiastic about him. He showed a desire for change in this important matter of the "tent of witness." But Solomon he does not like. He built a house for God, departing altogether from the divine pattern shown by God to Moses.

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Stephen quotes Is. 66¹⁻² in his criticism of the Temple. Stephen's objection to it is that it represents a wrong idea of God. It is derogatory to His greatness. The appellation of God is significant. "The Most High" is the phrase used. His throne is in heaven and earth is his footstool. Such a God does not dwell in buildings made by/

by hands. The 'tent of witness' only witnessed to God's Presence. It was not to be thought that his Presence was comprehended there. The Temple was thought to comprehend His Presence. It was God's dwelling-place, His house. Such a conception could only spring from and in turn teach and produce an entirely wrong idea of God's nature.

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At this point Stephen breaks off his historical survey, which is at the same time a philosophy of history, and proceeds to reproach his hearers. Did he intend to continue his review of history but was prevented by the opposition of the members of the Council or had he gone as far with history as he intended? As we shall see (p 118-128) he had met the charges against him now that he had^s reached this point. But what he said about the Temple was too much for the further forbearance of those who heard him. Their wrath arose. Stephen, a man of strong feelings, turns on them with bitter reproaches, not for their conduct to himself, but for their continued resistance to the Holy Spirit.

'Uncircumcised in heart and ears.' For the phrase cf. Lev. 26⁴¹; Jer 6¹⁰; 9²⁶. Some expositors think that here it is used as an ordinary metaphorical expression meaning "deaf and hard-hearted towards instruction" without any symbolic reference to circumcision. But Stephen's words here are pointed. He means - You make much of your circumcision in the flesh. It is your heart and ears you should circumcise. You should listen and learn and obey.

(See note on Covenant of Circumcision p 30 above)

Instead you refuse to hear and continually resist the Holy Spirit.

/

καρδία

here has the Jewish association of the intellect with the heart ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\chi$) . Stephen is referring to their lack of spiritual perception, their lack of insight into God's purposes.

- 7⁵². 'They slew those,' etc. There is no historical evidence of this. The prophets had much opposition and much ill-treatment. But that it was a common understanding of history cf. St. Matt. 23³⁰ .

δ δικάσιος

- A Messianic title found in

Enoch 38.2 and in the Speeches in Acts cf. Acts 3¹⁴.

- 7⁵³. οἱ τινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων

This is generally taken to mean "You who received the Law by the disposition (or command) of angels." With this translation, the clause is taken as a statement by Stephen glorifying the Law. But is this the correct translation?

Jackson-Lake (Beg. of Christy. Vol. IV. ad.loc), say that εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων is an impossible phrase if any attempt be made to give εἰς its classical meaning but εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν are almost interchangeable in 'Koine' Greek with a strong tendency in favour of εἰς.

This may be so but the construction in our verse may be explained without reference to 'Koine' Greek and in such a way that something of the classical sense of εἰς is retained.

An examination of the use of εἰς in the N.T. as a whole and in Acts in particular would repay the labour expended upon it. In Acts we find εἰς used in/

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in many "pregnant and *brachy logical* expressions."

(Greek-Engl. Lexicon - Grimm- Thayer).

In Stephen's speech we have the same construction in γ^{21} as in γ^{53} ; perhaps also in γ^5 we have another example.

ἀνεθρέψατο αὐτὸν ἑαυτῇ εἰς υἱόν. γ^{21} .

In γ^5 we have the phrase -

δοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς κατόχην

In γ^{21} the meaning is "brought him up as or for a son."

In γ^5 the Promise is to give Abraham Canaan for a possession.

The basis of this construction is to be found, I think, in the *εἰς* that follows *λογίζομαι* in such expressions as Rs. 4⁹, *ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἡ πίστις εἰς δικαιοσύνην*

"Faith was reckoned to Abraham for or as Righteousness."

His faith was not righteousness; it was regarded as righteousness.

In the same way, Moses was not the son of Pharoah's daughter: she regarded him as her son.

In γ^{21} and our verse γ^{53} and similar cases, we have elliptical expression. The idea of "reckoning" or "regarding" (*λογίζομαι*) is not expressed but it is understood and the construction with *εἰς* is the construction that would have followed if it had been expressed.

The construction in the cases above denotes something being regarded as something other than it actually is - Faith is regarded as Righteousness; Moses is regarded as the son of Pharoah's daughter; to Canaan Abraham has no natural claim but it will be regarded as his possession: the law is regarded as commands of angels which it was not.

The cases we have taken are quotations from the LXX: Rs. 4⁹ = Gen. 15⁶, Acts γ^{21} = Exod. 2¹⁰. It is an LXX construction/

construction with which we are dealing. There is no need to assume a translation from an aramaic original - } = by)

The meaning of 7⁵³ would then be "You have received the Law and regarded it as commands of angels," (which it is not). If this is correct then certain points of difficulty become clear.

(1) With the translation generally adopted, the difficulty has been to see how Stephen's position with regard to the Law as stated in his speech could have been construed as "speaking against the Law" and that was part of the charge against him. He has been taken in 7⁵³ as glorifying the Law. It was given by angels and had all the divine authority a Law so given must possess. So he is supposed to have meant. At the same time he is taken as having referred to the Law as 'living oracles.' It must be the Law he is referring to in these oracles. It could not have been something different and better for the Law was no inferior thing, no second best even, for consider what Stephen says about it in 7⁵³. So runs the argument. But there is, under the usual translation of 7⁵³, another difficulty which has not always been noticed. The Temple and Cultus were part of the Law. Surely Stephen spoke against both. How could he approve of the Law as a whole in 7⁵³ while he condemns it in parts in what he has said before.

(II) With the usual translation it has been difficult to see why just at this point the members of the Court should 'gnash their teeth' at Stephen. But if our translation be correct we can see good reason why they should. The storm of resentment has been growing against him as he spoke first against sacrifice and then against/

against the Temple. When now he finally tells them 'that they had received a Law which they have regarded as commands of angels, and have not kept it,' they rage against him. They can bear no more. The storm of anger that arose against Stephen could not be because he told them they had not kept the Law. The Jews themselves were only too well aware of that. Their Rabbis told them the same thing. One of them said that 'if Israel kept the Law only for a single day, the Kingdom would come,' The sting in Stephen's words was in his remarks about the origin of the Law. He formulates no theory about its origin himself. He says "You have received a Law. It has come down to you. You have looked upon it as commands of angels with divine authority. That is your opinion of it. It is not mine. How could it be of divine authority and sent from heaven when part of it, the part on sacrifice, is pagan and of pagan origin. Your Temple too, like your sacrifice, is anti-mosaic in origin. Your Law is a total aberration from the spirit of Moses. Still you are a stubborn disobedient people for, even although you regarded your Law as given by angels, you have not kept it." This is his meaning. It stung his hearers to fury.

The origin of this belief that angels were present at the giving of the Law is to be found in the LXX version of Deut. 33². In the Hebrew we have in that verse^a and he, (The Lord) came with ten thousands of saints: from his right hand went a fiery law for them." In the LXX the last part of this sentence is changed to *ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ δὲ νόμος αἵματος*

Moffatt (Ep. to the Hebrews p. 18) says that the LXX changed/

changed the Hebrew text into a definite proof of angelic co-operation. In Ps. 68¹⁸ we have again mention of the angels at Sinai. Moffatt says that this belief first appeared in Hellenistic Judaism. It must have done so since the basis of it is in LXX. Deut. 32². Josephus (^{Antiq.} ~~Ausl~~ XV. 136) also mentions it. But it became widespread over the Jewish world. The book of Jubilees, of which angelology is so marked a feature, is of Palestinian origin. In 6²² of that book the angel, speaking to Moses, says 'For I have written in the book of the first law, which I have written for thee.' This refers to the Pentateuch, which is written for Moses by the angel. In 1²⁷ God says to the angel of the Presence 'Write for Moses from the beginning of Creation....' This last quotation shows how the author of the Book of Jubilees gives authority to the narrative of pre Mosaic history. It was written by an angel at God's command. The Law was also written by an angel. The angel assists in connection with the giving of the Law. The association of angels with the giving of the Law is found then in Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism. By Stephen's time it seems to have been an article of belief universally accepted by orthodox Judaism and strongly held.

CHAPTER/

THE SEQUEL TO THE TRIAL.

7⁵⁵. Stephen looking steadfastly *στηνίσας* - the meaning of the Greek word here is 'looking intently' 'strainedly.' cf. 6¹⁵ where 'all who sat in the Sanhedrin looking closely at Stephen'. They were scrutinizing his countenance to make up their minds as to the type of man he was.

Ὁ ἕξαρ βίωσ. The speech opened with the call of Abraham and the "appearance" to him of the God of Glory. Here Stephen stands strangely apart from the storm of wrath that surrounds him. In a rapture he sees God, - 'the Glory of God.'

And Jesus standing on the right hand of God - cf. Hebr. 1⁵ 'sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high.' It is difficult to determine whether any special significance is meant by the fact that Jesus is seen standing. It seems to mean that he stands ready to come to judge the world, i.e. that the time of the 'end of the age' is near.

7⁵⁶. I see the and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God. This is the only place, outside of the Gospels, where the phrase 'Son of Man' is applied to Jesus.

cf. ~~Mat.~~ 14⁶², Lc. 22⁶⁹. for the association of the Son of Man and the 'right hand of power.'

We have evidence in the non-canonical literature of 'The Son of Man' as a Messianic title. There is now general agreement that Jesus used the title of Himself. There/

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There is no good reason for denying that the early Christians used the title of Jesus and thought of Jesus in terms of it. The term came from Jewish circles (For further reference to the title see forward p.p. 178-182)

757. And, all together, they rushed at him. There can be no question of a formal verdict being pronounced here. The members of the Court rushed at Stephen, cast him out of the city and stoned him.

758. ἐκβοήσαντες this is the first mention of stoning but cf. 759 where there is a second reference to it which, it must be confessed, comes in very awkwardly. One can hardly resist the impression that just here in the passage we have the joining together of two documents. In 758 we are told that the 'witnesses put down their garments at the feet of a young man, named Saul.' What was Saul's connection with the witnesses and the stoning? Was it their own garments that they put at Saul's feet or was it Stephen's garments? Should αὐτῶν here be αὐτοῦ ? These questions must be considered. Further in 758 we get the impression that the stoning is being carried out according to the appointed judicial forms. In 757 the impression we get is that all judicial forms had been forgotten and swallowed up in a storm of wrath. (For a full discussion of the questions arising in connection with this passage see forward p.p. 194-197)

759. Lord Jesus. Is this an expression of worship?

Perhaps it is here an appeal to the Messiah, but if so, it is such that it is passing into worship.

760/

76C

'Lay not this sin to their charge.'

Is this description

of the death of Stephen historical, or is it an account written up after the pattern of the death of Jesus.² There is much in it that recalls the account of the Crucifixion but see forward p.p. 133-134.

8¹-2.

There was a great persecution of the Church. Only the Apostles remained behind in Jerusalem. Were they the *ἐνταφίσ* who buried Stephen? If not, who were these? This question will also be better discussed in connection with Stephen's place in the early Church (see forward p. 193)

A point of great difficulty emerges with respect to this section which tells of the death of Stephen. There is no mention in it that the consent of the Roman procurator was asked for the death penalty to be inflicted. It is clear that at this time the Sanhedrin did not possess independent power to inflict this penalty. When Jesus was condemned great pains were taken to secure the consent of Pilate. Why was not the same course followed here? One way of explaining the difficulty would be that in the storm of passion that arose all judicial forms were swept aside, and Stephen rushed to his death. But would not the Roman officer have intervened if he had been in Jerusalem and a riot of this kind had been reported to him? If, for some reason or other he had not been able to intervene, would he not have required some explanation and satisfaction from the Sanhedrin later? There is no evidence that the Romans ever raised the question. W.L. Knox (St. Paul and Ch. ^{the} of Jerus. p. 52) suggests that the death of Stephen occurred at a/

a time when the 'Imperial power was in abeyance.' He says that such a breakdown seems to have occurred at the beginning of 36 A.D.

Meyer (Ursprung und Anfänge p. 164) gives a different explanation. His point is that a great deal of power over the Jewish communities everywhere was exercised by the Sanhedrin and that the Roman authorities passed over much that they could have made grounds of offence. "But in cases of outbursts of popular feeling, Circus-fights for example, or persecutions of Jews or Christians, the Roman government winked at a very great deal that occurred in religious communities especially (witness, amongst others, Paul's fate in Pisidia, Thessalonica, Corinth and Ephesus), so long as the disturbance did not affect their relations and did not seriously endanger public safety." So says Meyer, and he continues later "Therefore such an incident as the stoning of Stephen and the persecution which followed it, could easily occur without the Government interfering."

This gives a sufficient explanation of the position. A wide authority was granted to the Sanhedrin in matters that could be construed as concerned with the Jews alone. It was only when the public safety was endangered that the Roman officers felt called on to intervene. The Stephen incident may well have been allowed to pass as a matter domestic to the Jews. It was important in Church history but such a trifle from the point of view of the Roman authorities that they thought best to let it pass unnoticed as if it had not happened.

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CHAPTER IV.

EXPOSITION of the SPEECH.

With the detailed notes before us we are now in a position to give a connected exposition of the speech.

For Stephen the true nature of God is a matter of the first importance. He opens his speech with words of reverence and awe. It is of the sublime and transcendent God he is going to speak - the God of Glory. This God is a God of Grace, who, out of his grace and goodness revealed Himself to Abraham and called him. Abraham had no right or claim in him. The glory belongs all to God who called him. God had a gracious purpose for Abraham's children and that purpose He revealed to Him.

Grace is the great characteristic of God. To this Grace, Abraham makes the right response of faith and obedience. He obeyed the call and had faith in God's promise to give his children the land of Canaan although the fact of his being advanced in years and having no heir in his family might have made him inclined to doubt.

Abraham's relationship to God was independent of place and of any territorial inheritance in Canaan. The call came to him, not in Canaan, but in distant Mesopotamia. When God gave him the Promise he had not a pace's length of ground in Canaan. Abraham's relationship to God was spiritual. It was a response in faith and obedience to the grace of God.

The/

The Covenant of Circumcision was another token of God's grace to Abraham. God gave it as a seal to the Promise and Abraham again made the right and fitting response in obedience and faith. It is the obedience and the faith that are important in Circumcision. Not the outward rite but the spiritual meaning is the important thing in it.

Abraham was a great man before God. Worship is the response of man to God. Abraham had the true relationship to God and made the right response to Him. He had the true worship of faith and obedience.

God is a God of Grace. That is clear on the face of Israel's history. Another thing is clear - He is a Saviour. He saved the people whom He had chosen, sending a deliverer to them, in Joseph.

In Joseph's case it is again clear that right relationships with God are independent of place and of any territorial inheritance in Canaan. It was in Egypt that God was with Joseph and God blessed him there.

The ambit of God's government is wide. Nature and Gentile - famine and Pharaoh - are made to play their part in working out God's purpose of bringing the people of Israel into Egypt. He even makes the sin of man to praise Him. Out of envy - a characteristic Jewish sin, according to Luke cf. ~~Acts~~ 13⁴⁵ . Joseph's brothers sell him into Egypt. They imagine they are acting independently but in reality they are serving the purpose of God who is sovereign over all the world and all its affairs.

To Abraham God had disclosed the future. His children were to be slaves in Egypt for a period but they would in due course be saved out of this slavery. "The time of the Promise was drawing nigh." Again God was to be their Saviour, sending Moses to deliver them.

Moses/

Moses was the greatest leader in Israel. He had great natural endowments. He added to these all the learning and wisdom of the Egyptians. He had a good heart and love of the brethren. He wished to deliver the people. They rejected his services. They had no 'insight.' They did not understand his intention of rescuing them from bondage. He fled to Midian, where he settled down, giving up all thought of rescuing the nation. But God is directing history. He has another purpose in mind for Moses. God appears to him as He appeared to Abraham and calls him as He had called Abraham. Like Abraham and Joseph, Moses makes the right response of faith and obedience. He is armed with power from God. He performs miracles, delivers the people out of the hand of Pharoah, brings them through the Red Sea and into the desert. This man, so favoured and honoured of God, is the man whom the people had rejected as a ruler and judge over them. This is the man who was greatly privileged of God. He was permitted to have living direct communication with God on Mt. Sinai. The people he was leading was at that time a holy people, delivered out of slavery and idolatry for the true worship of the living God. There was no animal sacrifice at that time nor idols. There was a people under a God-appointed Saviour who was with God in direct communion and communication with Him. Moses on the Mount received 'living oracles' to give to the people for this Moses was also a prophet. Inspired by God he once said 'God will raise up another prophet like me.' The people were impatient and showed the same want of insight as before. They refused to wait for Moses and the/

the 'living oracles' he had received for them. They wanted gods which they could see, visible and near gods, which their hands could make. They turned their backs on God's leadership through Moses and on the divine Revelation in the living oracles. They had failed to make the right response of faith and obedience. They had failed in the right attitude to God who now gave them over to a wrong one - to false worship and idolatry.

The time when Moses was on the Mount with God is the turning point in Israel's history. Up to that point there had been progress. Subsequent to that, there was only a long series of mistakes. They had a rich worship of God, a sacrificial worship in a wonderful Temple. But both sacrificial worship and Temple were wrong. They were both contrary to true worship and to the spirit and teaching of Moses. Sacrifice in Israel was of Egyptian descent, for in the desert the people went back to Egyptian ways and worship. Then they sacrificed after the Egyptian pattern and their sacrifices were not offered to God but to 'the host of heaven.' The Temple too was not divinely ordained or after the pattern shown by God to Moses. What God had commanded Moses to make was a 'tent of testimony' which could go with the people - a witness to them of his Presence - to show them that where they were He was. With that 'tent of testimony' the people won victories and under David won Empire. David was the first to suggest change. He wished to erect a *ἱερόν* to be a place where the house of Jacob could meet with God. There was no very great mistake here, for what David wanted to erect was not such a place that the honour due to God should be transferred to the building and God himself be forgotten. But Solomon totally deviated from the true path. He built a house, a temple/

temple for God; obscuring the truth that God is beyond anything that man can build, that the heaven of heavens cannot contain Him.

There had been a long period from Abraham to Moses when in certain cases a perfect religious relationship to God had been exemplified. In that period there was no inheritance in the Holy Land, ~~No~~ Cultus, no Temple. Was the Law in existence then? No, it was not. It came into existence later and came to be regarded as given by angels. None of these things, land, Cultus, Temple and Law, were in existence then, but a pure and perfect religious life had been possible without them. These institutions were held by the Jews of Stephen's time to be necessary to a perfect life with God, and the Cultus and the Temple and the Law were held to be of Mosaic origin. Stephen says that the perfect religious life is independent of these institutions, and that Cultus, Temple and Law were none of them of Mosaic origin. The right approach to God was seen in the cases of Abraham, Joseph and Moses. It was a response in faith and obedience to the Grace of God. Was the possession of Palestine necessary to secure perfect conditions for a right approach to God? As in the Covenant of Circumcision the point of value was the faith and obedience it betokened, so the territorial possession of the Land was a sphere for right worship, where the people might have a locus for a life of faith and obedience. It had no other significance in the religious life.

God had shown in the period between Abraham and Moses the method of his Providence. That method was direct revelation through and guidance by leaders whom He had chosen. In that period he had also revealed His purpose. He had called Abraham as an individual. He had saved the clan/

clan through Joseph. He had sent Moses to create and save the Nation. He wished through Moses to make Israel the ideal people of God, and to give them such knowledge of Himself and His will in living oracles as would make them 'live' in Him, and have direct fellowship with Him in living faith and obedience. They had refused to do His will. He had handed them over to their own devices. But His purpose revealed through Moses of sending another prophet like Moses must be fulfilled. He continued to give "living oracles" concerning His will and the coming of that other ~~one~~ through the prophets, speaking to them directly. That other one had now come in Jesus.

Abraham was called as an individual. Joseph had saved the clan. Moses had created and saved the nation. Are we to understand that Jesus was sent to accomplish a larger purpose over a wider area? Is he sent to be head and Saviour of all nations?

Israel was to be the ideal people of God with the right worship of faith and obedience. She had failed to rise to the heights of her high calling. ~~The~~ ideal Israel was the Church of Jesus. Those who were called in Him, whose approach to God was in faith and obedience, who had been quickened and made alive by His living oracles - these were the true Israel of God, the called according to his Purpose. God's great purpose was accomplished in the Church.

Jesus was the Messiah, the prophet of whom Moses spoke. He was the antitype of Moses. But how could a suffering, defeated prophet be the Messiah? The Messiah must be a prophet, for -

(1) he must be like Moses who was a prophet. Stephen does not regard Moses as a lawgiver or a priest. He was neither of these things but a prophet who spoke about the Messiah in these terms "a prophet like unto me."

(2) God's true communication with his people was always direct, by words directly given to his prophets.

Israel had always rejected her prophets. It was no surprise that she had rejected the Messiah and put him to death. He was only suffering the fate of all her prophets. But Jesus was now alive at the right hand of God. When He came a second time as the Son of man to judge the world His identity would be revealed. The Son of Man would be seen to be the rejected prophet Jesus.

PART II.

DOCTRINE in the SPEECH.

We shall now consider Stephen's views on certain points of doctrine. Stephen gives us, in the form of a survey of Israel's history, a philosophy of history. Stephen's understanding and explanation of Israel's history is very different from the orthodox views of his time. The orthodox views were strongly held. We are brought up against the live and burning heart of Stephen's day when we see him opposing views that were held so strongly and vehemently by the mass of his countrymen. In considering different points of doctrine we shall see more clearly Stephen's position as it is set against the background of the prevailing opinion of his day. We shall also understand better the bitterness of the opposition he aroused.

STEPHEN'S DOCTRINE OF GOD.

- (a) For Stephen God is a God of Grace. God's grace is shown in different ways. It is shown in God's election of Israel in Abraham. Abraham had no natural claim on Yahweh. There was no natural kinship between Israel and Yahweh such as there was supposed to be between other nations and their gods. God's election of Israel was an act of His grace and goodness. He further showed His grace in revealing his will and purpose to them. He also gave them the Promise of the land of Canaan. He entered into a Covenant of friendship with them. He shows His grace in all these ways/

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ways and also in delivering his people. He is their Saviour.

Right knowledge of the true nature of God is necessary if the correct response to God is to be forthcoming. The opinion prevailing at the time about the relationship existing between God and Israel was that the two parties were under a covenant. No doubt God had initiated the Covenant and given it, but the Covenant relationship was such that Israel by keeping the Law could earn the reward of the Promise. As against this attitude Stephen urges the overwhelming nature of the grace of God. God is the source of all Israel's privileges. He initiated them all. There can be no question of an equal contract here. God has given and Israel has received. There can be no question of earning reward by works or merit. That is a wrong understanding of the Covenant relationship altogether. God gave the Promise and the Covenant of Circumcision as a seal to the Promise. Circumcision was not important in itself. God gave the Promise to Abraham. Abraham made the right response in faith and obedience. It was this faith and obedience, this right response to God's Grace that was the important thing. So far as this faith and obedience were symbolized by Circumcision it was well, but Circumcision in itself was nothing. There is no mention of the Covenant at Sinai in Stephen's speech. He deals only with the Covenant of Circumcision. For Stephen the Covenant relationship is one where, in response to God's overwhelming Grace, Israel must have faith in and obedience to God.

(b)/

(b) For Stephen God is also the Living God. He is personality and has will and purpose. His purpose is to bring Israel into Canaan where they might be free to worship Him in the right way. He is living and active in history, delivering his people and bringing his purpose to pass. God's purposes must be fulfilled. He had a further purpose of sending a prophet like Moses. That also He has brought to pass.

(c) This God of Grace, active and forceful in history is Omnipotent. He is Lord over nature and man. He brings about the famine which sends Jacob's sons down into Egypt. He makes Pharoah protect Joseph. All through his review of history, but particularly in the part dealing with Joseph, Stephen gives his answer to one of the problems that divided the parties of the time. There is a well-known passage in Josephus (De. Bell. Jud. 6¹⁴) of which there is a posthumous translation by Mr. St. John Thackeray (Harvard Theolog. Review quoted in Habbert Journal. July 1932 p. 675).

He translates "while maintaining that all things are brought about by Fate, they (the Pharisees) yet do not deprive the human will of the impulse to do them, it having pleased God that there should be a co-partnership between Fate's Council-Chamber and such men as choose to fall into line with it, actuated by virtue or vice."

The translation as given in the Habbert Journal ends there. In Josephus the passage continues "but the Sadducees take away Fate entirely and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil, and they say that to act what is good or what is evil, is at men's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to everyone, that they may act what they please."

Fate/

Fate is here what we call Providence, or God's guidance of history and man. The Pharisees saw no conflict between this and man's free-will. The Sadducees referred all conduct to the independent will of man and allowed no place for Providence. Stephen has without doubt considered the problem and he shows how it is resolved in history. When Jacob sends his sons to Egypt he is acting from reasonable human motives. The Pharoah of the "other dynasty" is alarmed at the growing numbers of the slave population in his territory and takes steps to stop its further increase. Jacob and Pharoah consider they are acting freely and independently. So too the daughter of Pharoah, attracted as she is by a beautiful child. But all these people are really carrying out the purpose and will of God. They act reasonably in the circumstances, but the circumstances are set for them by God. Man is free and history is guided. Stephen has nothing in common with the Sadducean views on this matter. For him God is no distant God uninterested in history, but is the living God, active in history. The Pharisees would not quarrel with Stephen's doctrine here. Stephen is at one with all Jewish thought in making man a being responsible for his actions. Israel sins in refusing to have faith and obedience. The Israelites are responsible agents in this and are responsible for their fault. Joseph's brothers must bear the blame for selling their brother into Egypt. But God, the Omnipotent, makes the very sin of man to be subservient to His purpose. He will carry out His purposes of bringing Israel into Canaan and/

and of bringing in the Messiah.

There are some things in history that are mysterious to Stephen. It was only when his brothers returned to Egypt a second time that Joseph's identity was revealed to them. He sees a mystery here. He sees in it a type of the second coming of Jesus.

There are *καὶ ποτ'* in God's government of the world. These are times in history which cannot be hastened and must be waited for, but which, when they are due to arrive, cannot be delayed. "The time of the Promise draws nigh." Moses tries to deliver Israel but they reject him. God's time for Moses has not yet come. It comes and God calls him. The Messiah's time is now come, the time that God has appointed. God controls all history and brings it to its appointed goal.

- (d) God is omniscient. He knows the end from the beginning. He is the source of all prophecy. He can make Moses prophesy of that One who should come at the end of the days.
- (e) God is omnipresent. Omnipresence is an important attribute of God in Stephen's thought. Stephen stripped the worship of Yahweh of all limiting local and territorial conditions. This was a position very different from the prevailing belief of the time.

The belief was deeply rooted in Semitic religion that there was a close connection between a god and his land. This territorial connection was as strong as that between a god and his people who occupied his/

his territory. If by any chance his people should be expelled from his territory he remained god of the land and made his power felt over the newcomers. We have an example of this in 2 Kings 17²⁴⁻⁴¹. There the Assyrians, the newcomers, so experience the power of Yahweh that they ask for a priest to teach them his religion. The Hebrews were a branch of the Semitic race and inherited this belief of the connection of a god with his land. Yahweh, their God, had chosen them outside of Palestine it is true, but he had brought them into his own territory. The Canaanite had held the land and polluted it. Yahweh had driven them out. It follows from this that according to ancient Semitic belief to be driven from the territory of a god was to be driven from that god himself, and to lose the place where worship of the god was possible. In primitive belief each god had his territory and his people. Yahweh was Israel's god. Chemosh was the god of the Moabites. Each people recognised the existence of the gods of the other peoples. They were faithful to their own god whose land they held, without denying the existence of the other gods. This type of religion has been called monolatry and it was characteristic of Israel as of her neighbours for a long period.

It has been said that the idea of universality was inherent in the religion of Israel from the first, because of the number of sacred places recognised in her early history. This may be so, but it was not from any deductions made from the number of sacred places that Israel arrived at a monotheistic/

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monotheistic belief. Israel rose to that through contemplation of and reflection on the ~~the~~ righteousness and holiness of God. The great eighth century prophets believed in Yahweh as righteous and holy. His moral empire is wide and not confined to his own people, although his own people must be disciplined in righteousness like all others. (Amos 3².) Isaiah recognised in Assyria the rod of Yahweh's anger (Isai. 10⁵). These prophets are looking beyond the boundary line of Yahweh's land. Yahweh's Empire extends beyond it.

Dr. Skinner in his book "Prophecy and Religion" Ch. XV discusses Jeremiah's letter to the exiles in Babylon (Jeremiah 29).. In the course of that discussion he examines the question whether in pre-exilic times the Jews or any of them had grasped the truth that prayer could be offered in any place. He points out that the patriarchal narratives are examples of prayer answered, and of a relatively complete religious life lived at a distance from the Holy Land and its sanctuaries. He adds further the case of Elijah in a Phoenician town 1 Kings 17. ¹⁷⁻²⁴ He answers the possible objections to this instance that what was possible to heroes was not possible to ordinary Israelites by saying, "We must admit that the idea of prayer to Yahweh in a foreign land presented no difficulty to the faith of the pre-exilic Israelites. Cujus regio, ejus religio was no longer an accepted maxim."

Now we come to the great prophets of the exile. Jeremiah, out of the conflict of his own soul, found a communion with God that was independent of place. He found the basis of religion in the instinct of the soul for God. Of all the prophets he was in his religious views the most independent of/

of limiting conditions, yet Dr. Skinner's verdict is (Prophecy and Religion Ch. XV) "that it is doubtful if he ever discarded the principles of nationalism and improbable that he abandoned hope of Restoration." Again in Ch. XV he says "The Restoration of the nation of Israel is in some sense anticipated." In Jeremiah's view the exiles could find in Babylon life and Communion with God to a fairly full extent. These could be found to that extent anywhere. But it is doubtful whether he, like all the other prophets, did not consider some form of national life a necessity for a complete and full religious life. The land of Palestine might not have any intrinsic virtue for religion or be essential to the display of religion of the right quality. Religion of the right quality might be found anywhere by the soul that had the right attitude to God, but for a complete religious life some form of national life in Israel was necessary, and the Land was necessary as a sphere for the free exercise of that national life. So thought Jeremiah.

If this is the position of Jeremiah what was the view of Ezekiel? He believed in the Omnipresence of God. Surely it is implied in the very form of the 'appearance' of God as he saw it that God can remove to whatever place He wishes. That 'appearance' or 'Glory of God' had removed from the Temple and from Palestine. When at the end it returns to the Temple, it returns from the East. Yet, for all this, while he acknowledges the universal sovereignty of God he "insists on the possession of the land of Canaan as an indispensable symbol of Communion between God and His people The/

The Kingdom of God can only be established by the return both of Israel and Jehovah to their own land, and their joint possession of that land is the seal of the everlasting covenant of place that subsists between them" (Skinner: Ezekiel p. 326). We must remember that it was characteristic of ancient religious thought to believe that the god could only be approached by one who was ceremonially clean. The conditions for attaining this state could only be obtained among a people whose life was ordered with that purpose in view. This is the attitude of Ezekiel, and it accounts in large measure for the regulations he gives for the re-ordering of the life of Israel when she shall be restored to her own land.

Ezra and Nehemiah followed the lead of Ezekiel, and from their time to the time of Jesus this was the spirit and attitude that prevailed. A holy people with a holy Temple in a Holy Land was the ideal. God could only be rightly worshipped among this people and in this land.

We have only the merest indirect evidence that any other view was held. If we are right in our notes on 'the Hellenists,' there is indirect evidence in Jubilees that the question was being asked whether it was not possible to live a complete religious life without the institutions characteristic of Israel's life and worship. It is only inference we have here. All the non-canonical literature teaches faithful allegiance to the national institutions, and all assign a place above all other lands to the Holy Land of Palestine.

Stephen/

Stephen advocates a view directly opposed to this. The strength of the view he is opposing is seen by the pains he takes to point out plainly and repeatedly that God's dealings with Israel from Abraham to Joshua were all outside of Canaan. God appears to Abraham in Mesopotamia. Stephen means us to notice that this appearance was at a great distance from Canaan. Abraham lived an ideal life of faith and obedience outside of Canaan and without any territorial inheritance in it whatever. God was with Joseph in Egypt and with Moses in Midian. There these men lived lives well pleasing to God and had full communion with Him. There is a leisureliness, a slowness of pace, a particularity of incident about the first part of Stephen's speech. There are more reasons for this than one, but one is to show the length of the period of Israel's sojourn outside the Promised Land, when an ideal religious life was possible and was in certain cases attained. Then there were none of the things thought necessary to a full religious life in Stephen's day. There was no Temple. Sacrifice was not required. There was no possession of the Holy Land. The patriarchs had no possession in it. Was it necessary for later generations? Places outside Palestine had been the scenes of theophanies. God had appeared there. Stephen is clearly teaching the universality of God's Presence. Palestine is a sphere for the life of the nation. Its possession is not intrinsically necessary to the religious life. Stephen is taking up the position of Jeremiah on this point. His views on the necessity to a full religious life of some form of national life in Israel, a ^{view} point, as we have seen, held by Jeremiah as by the rest of the prophets - we must consider later, (see p. 114-117)

CHAPTER IIGOD'S APPROACH TO MAN.

Jehovah was a God who revealed Himself and His will to His people. How did He do this?

God declares Himself in the O.T. in many ways.

- A. (i) Through natural phenomena. There are many references to the thunder and the lightning as declaring His Presence cf Exodus 19¹⁶; 1 Kings 19¹¹⁻¹², Judges 5⁴; Pss. 18 and 29 etc. The 'Glory of God' is often associated with fiery appearances, e.g. the burning bush which Moses saw, and the pillar of fire which went before the Israelites. (Ex 13²¹)
- (ii) Jehovah reveals Himself in human form through His angel.
- (iii) He also declares Himself by the miracles He performs e.g. the deliverance of the people at the Red Sea.
- (iv) He declares Himself by oracle. In the earlier times there were different ways of oracular guidance cf. Gen 24^{12f}; Judges 6³⁶⁻⁴⁰ but only the sacred lot, the Urim and Thummim, survived in the Deuteronomic regulations Deut. 18¹⁰⁻¹¹, and it could only be used by the priest.
- (v) God also declared Himself by dreams e.g. to Joseph.
- (vi) /

(vi) God's spirit - His 'ruach', was believed also to work upon man. Any remarkable quality was so explained e.g. 1 Sam. 11⁶: (great anger): Judges 14⁶ (great strength). The frenzy of the earlier prophets was also ascribed to this source e.g. 1 Sam. 10^{5f}.

B. Israel is distinguished from all other peoples in that she had a remarkable succession of men- the prophets - who claimed to know the will of God because they had it directly communicated to them. This prophetic consciousness is a difficult subject. There were false prophets and true prophets. What distinguished them was not merely that the prophecies of the true prophets were justified by events, whereas those of the false prophets were falsified by what followed, but in the true prophets there is the presence of something more than a merely external criterion of prophetic truth (vid. Robinson: Relig. Ideas of the O.T. p. 120). These men felt the compulsion of God upon them and they had to speak (Amos 3⁸). They knew God intimately in their hearts, and in the light of that knowledge of Him they declared His will for the present and what He would do in the future. But what they revealed about God's purposes did not come to them as the result of conscious reflection, nor did they declare it as the result of their reflection. These were God's messages they delivered. They came from Him to them.

The prophet is often contrasted with the priest. In many respects they did stand in strong contrast to each other, but it is doubtful whether in the contrast/

contrast we make we are always fair to the priests.

"As a general rule," according to Dr. Buchanan Gray (Sacrifice in the O.T. Ch. XIV) "where there was a permanent altar or shrine ^{p 219} there was a priest." The priest had a fixed place where he could be found. The prophet moved freely from place to place. The priest consulted the Ephod and used Urim and Thummim. The prophets inspiration was direct. The priest was busied with ritual and sacrifice in the service of God. The prophets emphasize the ethical service of God. In summing up these points of contrast we are apt to give the higher place in the service of God to the prophet, but we must not forget the large and important part the priest also played in that service and in the life of the nation. The priest not only conducted the worship of the people and nation, he not only was an organ of revelation but he was a teacher. Hosea 4¹.2.6, complains the priests have failed to teach what it was their duty to teach.

What was that? Buchanan Gray (Sacrif.in O.T. Ch. XIV) ^{p 223.} says "So we may believe the priests of the ancient high-places of Israel, of Shiloh with its more modest or of Jerusalem with its supremely important Temple, preserved the story of Yahweh's manifestation ^s on behalf of his people. In course of time, at least in great cities like Jerusalem, they may have become veritable historians of the past and in Israel history no less law, ritual and medicine, were sacred ^rlove.' The priests then were repositories of knowledge on these subjects. They were also the custodians of legal precedent.

C. Another channel through which God declared Himself to man was the Written Law. We know today that this written Law as we have it in the Pentateuch is a composite structure built up of different strata. The first stratum is the book of the Law found at the time of Josiah's Reformation in 621 B.C. which is now generally agreed to be part of our present Deuteronomy. To that was added in 444 the Law book which Ezra brought from Babylon. This is now known as the Priestly Code. These were united and combined with other documents known as J. and E. It is from these sources that our Pentateuch is built up. To the Jew of the time of Jesus this written Law had one single source. It all came from Moses and had been given to him by God. One could speak of Moses or the Law indifferently, meaning the same thing.

One wonders at the attraction the Law had for the Jew and at its hold upon him. We see part of its attraction explained when we remember that it is more than moral injunctions and ceremonial regulations. The Law book was a book containing, in addition to these, story and biography. It had songs and myth among its contents, and much of it is told in a very attractive manner. But it is important for our purpose to notice that in the final editing of the Pentateuch a priestly turn has been given to the whole work. As Wheeler Robinson (Relig. Ideas of the O.T. p. 125) says, the Divine revelation is conceived "as being made and confirmed by a series of Covenants, the last and greatest being that of Sinai, when God gave Israel, through Moses, in the ordinances of the sanctuary/

sanctuary, knowledge of his requirements. It is in these ordinances that the priestly interest lies." On p. 126 he points out that while the sanctuary alone would only have been another of the holy places by which man can approach God "the new feature due to the written Word

was that the worship of the Temple was now conceived to rest on a closely-knit series of divine commands, a full and explicit statement given by God to his servant Moses of the conditions to be satisfied in order that Israel might become a holy people."

There are two considerations in connection with the written Law which are important for our subject.

The first is that once the Written Law had been accepted as the Revelation of God prophecy tended to die out. God has spoken to Moses and the prophets directly, as it were 'face to face', in the past. Now God's Will was contained in the written Law, which was full and final and eternally valid. Nothing could be added to it and nothing subtracted from it; there was no room for further revelation.

The second point is that Jewish thought always attributed full moral responsibility to man. He could, if he willed it, do the works of the Law. If he did so, he would "live in them" i.e. he would have a sanctified life now, and also earn the reward of the Kingdom according to the Covenant.

D. In addition to the Written Law there was much oral tradition which the Pharisees regarded as authoritative, but which the Sadducees refused to countenance. For the Pharisees at least this was a channel of revelation. There/

There had been during and subsequent to the Exile much study on the part of the Scribes. These students of Holy Writ, by patient study, drew out of the Law directions for the circumstances of their own day which differed in many respects from the circumstances obtaining when the written Law was in process of formation.

E. A Law had been given which was final and absolute. God no longer inspired the living mind of the prophet. God tended to recede further and further from the world. God too was holy. The idea of his holiness as it became intensified, made a gulf between Him and man which had to be bridged. Persian influence had made the idea of angels familiar to the Jews. We find these angels introduced to bridge the gulf between God and man. In the non-canonical literature angelology has grown to great proportions. Jubilees II² gives the different orders of the angels. Everything has its angel. Angels are the medium of communication between God and Moses in the revelation of Israel's history past and future. (see notes p.) As Acts 7⁵³ Gal. 3¹⁹ and Hebrews 2² all show they become associated with the giving of the Law.

The true way of God's approach to man is in the forefront of interest in Stephen's speech. From Abraham to Jesus Stephen sees a clear line of men to whom God had spoken directly and intimately, without mediation of any kind. He spoke with the direct voice to Abraham, in dreams to Joseph, again with the direct voice to Moses, intimately in their hearts to the prophets and as intimately and directly to Jesus. Jesus/

Jesus was the culminating point in this line of prophets who had received direct messages from God. Revelation had been through the prophets in this direct ^{im}mediated fashion. Revelation had been by the "living word" of God.

What of the Revelation held to have come through the Law and by the hand of Moses? Stephen clearly answers that it is no revelation and the Law did not come by the hand of Moses. He formulates no theory of its origin himself but he indicates quite clearly that it could not have come from any divine source. A divine source may have been attributed to it. It may have been regarded as the commands of angels but that is error. It came to them somehow out of the past. It contained regulations about animal sacrifice. Animal sacrifice was not of Mosaic origin. It was pagan. It came from Egypt. It represented a falling away from true worship as seen in Abraham and Moses. The Temple too was a non-Mosaic institution. A Law which contained provisions for the worship in the Temple and the animal sacrifice that was part of that worship could not be of Mosaic origin. As these institutions represented a falling away from true worship as desired by God they could not be of divine origin.

But another objection Stephen would have to the Written Law and to the work of the scribes was that it was not the living, quick, voice of God, directly communicated to His people. It was not living guidance given fresh from age to age as the respective ages/

ages required it. It was written down in fixed form long ago. New regulations were drawn from it by the intellectual labours of the student. It was as a dead thing compared with the living inspiration bestowed upon the prophets.

It had been a powerless thing too. They had not kept it 7⁵³. For its fulfilment it depended on the exercise of the will of man. It had no power to quicken and stimulate that will. There was something better than this. There was the 'living word' of God that captured and gripped the will of those who received it. The Law, by reason of its powerlessness, was itself evidence that it was not the way chosen by God for the revelation of His will.

But if the Law did not come by the hand of Moses what position did Moses occupy in God's Government of the world? What did he do? He was not a Law-giver. He was no priest. He was a prophet inspired to prophesy of another who would come after him and be greater than he. He was a leader and saviour of the people. He was the greatest that had appeared in Israel. There was no Temple and no animal sacrifice in his time. He, like Abraham and Joseph responded to the living word of God with faith and obedience. He got living words to deliver to the people. These words would have been as effective over the lives of the people as they were over the lives of the prophets but the people refused to wait for them. They rejected the true approach of God to man, and adopted a false one, which came to them somehow - the way/

way of the Law.

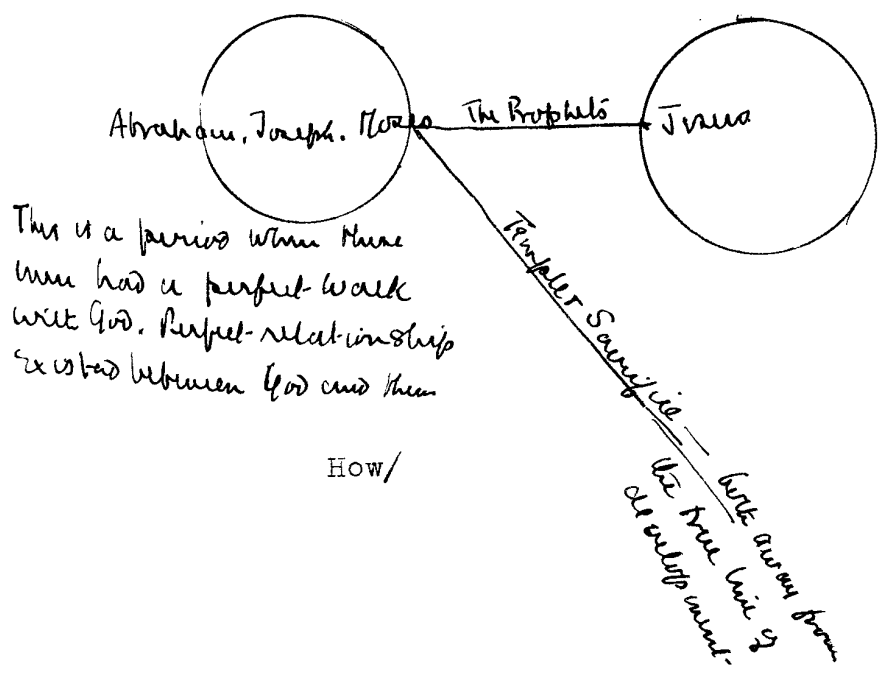
We must notice that Stephen's antipathy is to the Temple and its Cultus. It is these that he specifies as being non-Mosaic and not of divine origin. But what he says about them he would say about the whole Law. For him as for Paul the Law was all of one piece - it was not the true way of revelation, it was not God's method of approach, it was indirect and ineffective, it lacked the living voice and the 'life' and effectiveness that the living word gave.

For Stephen, man's relationship to God was one of dependence upon Him in faith and obedience, and that obedience was made effective through the power of God's living word. The attitude of the orthodoxy of his day was one rather of self-sufficiency; in theory at least man could, by the exercise of his will, keep the Law and earn the reward of the Kingdom. There is a deep cleavage here between Stephen and his opponents. The method and idea of law was to Stephen's mind wrong - it was a wrong conception of God's approach to man, a wrong conception of the method of God's revelation to and guidance of man, it created a wrong attitude in man towards God.

How did Stephen think of the "living words" delivered to Moses and how, in his mind, were they related to the words of Christ? He no doubt thought of them as like the 'oracles' or words given to the prophets. They would be as effective to the recipients of them as the oracles received by the prophets were to them. We shall perhaps best understand what he thought about them by thinking of the words of Jesus. Jesus is the anti-type of Moses. His words are the anti-type of the words of Moses. Jesus had 'living oracles' to give the people. What was their nature? We have reference to their 'burning quality' (cf. Lc. 24³²). They had power in themselves. But the/

the 'oracles' of Jesus revealed the nature of God. They were revelation. They revealed God to be of such a nature that they created faith and love. They brought people into sonship with God. People lived in direct filial relationship with God. They had in themselves a consciousness of such a direct tender life with God that their hearts must find expression for it in such phrases as 'Abba' Father. We can best envisage the thought of Stephen by a diagram. There are two circles. The first is the period Abraham to Moses, where we have God in direct touch with men whom he had chosen, and who respond to his Grace in faith and obedience. This period is concluded by the rejection of the 'living words' which would have been words of revelation and effective, bringing men into living fellowship with God. The people go off on a line of aberration from the true will of God. But that will is not thwarted. Prophets are sent telling, as Moses had done, of One who should come. Jesus came with 'living words' bringing people into living effective fellowship with God.

The diagram -



The Living Words
and
The End of the Age,
with the Coming of
the Son of Man.

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How was Jesus "like unto Moses."

The words of Jesus were effective. Jesus had power to do miracles, and to enable others to do them. As the Son of Man he would come with power to bring in the Kingdom. He was like Moses in that He was a prophet: like him, in that He had "living words;" like him in that He was a leader and Saviour. But he was greater than Moses in that He was also Son of Man who would come with power, when the 'age' would end.

Jesus was a Saviour. From what? Moses saved Israel from bondage. Jesus was to save people from condemnation in the Judgement. He did so by causing them now to do the will of God.

CHAPTER/

CHAPTER IIIMAN'S APPROACH TO GOD.

I.

Holy Places.

In ancient Hebrew religion approach to God was at one or other of the holy places of which there were a great many. At these places God had shown Himself; there he might be expected to be found again. In later days and in the days of Jesus He was to be approached in the Temple at Jerusalem.

THE TEMPLE.

In early pre-Mosaic days the Hebrews, like other branches of their race, had sacred trees and sacred stones. We have also mention of sacred wells. These were places where the god came when he was summoned. To meet with God the worshipper had to draw near to these places where he came. In the Pentateuch we have accounts of Yahweh appearing to people at certain places. He appears to Moses in a burning bush. Jacob says "Surely God is in this place" and he sets up a pillar. The point of this story is that there are certain places where God appears.

From the time of Moses we have God's Presence in the Ark. "The Ark was not only the symbol of Yahweh, but was actually identified with Him." In Num 10³²⁻³⁶ for example, it is said, "and it came to pass, when the Ark set forward, that Moses said, Rise up, Yahweh, and let thine enemies be scattered." And when it rested, he said, "Return Yahweh, unto the ten thousand of the thousands of Israel." The Ark is identified with Yahweh/

Yahweh. The worshipper must go to find Him in the tabernacle or tent..

When the Israelites entered Canaan they found a population with a worship of its own - that of the Baalim. The Canaanites had also their own sacred places. The Israelites did not forsake Yahweh, but they adopted the worship of the Baalim and transferred it to Him. Canaanitish worship was worship of the gods of nature and fertility, and was licentious. It was to purify the worship of Yahweh that Josiah's Reformation was instituted in 621 B.C. It is now generally agreed that the Law-book found in the Temple at this time was the nucleus of our Book of Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy nowhere says that Yahweh can only be found at Jerusalem, but commands that the worship of Yahweh be centralized at a place afterwards to be shown, which is, of course, Jerusalem. "The history of the Jewish altar is of a movement away from many altars to one, away from altars primarily or exclusively serving a locality and mostly small localities, to an altar which was the central point and common symbol of the unity of the Jews though scattered over all parts of the world in the service of the one true God." (Buchanan Gray - 'Sacrifice in the O.T.' p118).

The Temple This central shrine was the Temple at Jerusalem.

"It is commonly held that pre-Hebrews inhabitants of Jerusalem set food and poured out liquids for the deity on this rock, i.e. the Temple rock." Buddha does not think so. According to him, Beersheba, Bethel, Mizpah, Ophrah required their *ἑὸς κόρος* to wipe out previous heathen worship. Not so Jerusalem. It was founded on a threshing floor. "In any case" he says, "on this in part rested Jerusalem's claim to rank above the others" (Buchanan Gray 'Sacr. in O.T.' p133.)

Whether/

Whether the site of the Temple was sacred or not previous to David's time, the Temple soon gained prestige for other reasons. It was natural that Solomon should want a Capital worthy of the extended territory over which he ruled. He wished to adorn it with noble buildings, with a palace and with a Temple, which should be worthy of the country and the country's God. He chose for the site of the Temple the place where David had built an altar.

Although Solomon had built this Temple at Jerusalem, Yahweh continued to be worshipped at the local Sanctuaries. But owing to its magnificence and the fact that it was the Temple in the Capital, it was in a favourable position to gain prestige, and its prestige was greatly enhanced by the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy that it would not fall before the Assyrians.

It is difficult to grasp Isaiah's position with respect to the Temple. We must remember that it was in the Temple that he had his vision of God. There he had seen the Presence, but his doctrine of the inviolability of the Temple does not seem to rest only on Yahweh's presence there, but on something wider and deeper, of which His presence is a symbol. In his book 'Prophecy and Religion' ^(p. 166) Skinner explains it in this way "Isaiah's doctrine of the inviolability of

Yahweh's earthly sanctuary on Mt. Zion is a somewhat elusive part of his theology. It seems to rest on a mystic interpretation of the local presence of Yahweh in His Temple as a symbol of the unseen divine order about to be revealed through his intervention in history. Is. 8⁶ "Waters of Shiloah that go softly" are a type of God's continuous but secret working in/

in the present: so the foundation laid in Zion is a pledge to faith of the indestructibility of the true Israel in the impending crisis of judgment. But it is clear that the presentation is not merely ideal or figurative. In later prophecies of Isaiah, it takes a concrete form, becoming the ground of his assurance that the sacred mount will prove impregnable to the assault of the Assyrian world power." (CHRY. p. 166).

When Sennacherib's army was destroyed the people were greatly impressed, but the spiritual message which Isaiah thought would be conveyed viz., that it was God who had delivered them and that they should be of a chastened spirit before Him, was missed by them. They only became fixed in the belief that the Temple could not be destroyed, and that Yahweh would never desert it.

Nebuchadnezzar destroyed both City and Temple. Jeremiah found a communion with God which was independent both of Temple and Cultus, but Ezekiel, the other great prophet of the Exile, when he came to make laws for a reconstituted and restored State, made the Temple its centre. "The fundamental idea of the theocracy as conceived by Ezekiel is the literal dwelling of Jehovah in the midst of His people. The Temple is in the first instance Jehovah's palace." (Skinner: Ezekiel p. 404).

The different situations in Israel before and after the Exile are well expressed in the words "Before the Exile a King! After the Exile a High-Priest." After it the Israelites were no longer an independent nation/

nation except for a brief period. They were a Church, a religious community with a High-Priest, at their head. The Law and the Priesthood ruled their lives. To approach God on earth they must approach Him in the right way. They must offer their sacrifices, where the Law said they must offer them, at Yahweh's palace at Jerusalem.

For the glow and fervour with which the Temple was generally regarded in the time of Jesus we have evidence in a passage in Philo's Vita Moysis Bk. II where he says, -

"We ought to look upon the Universal World as the highest and truest Temple of God, having for its most holy place that most sacred part of the essence of all existing things, viz - the heavens."

"But the other temple is made with hands: for it was desirable not to cut short the impulses of men, who were eager to bring in contributions for the objects of piety and desirous either to show their gratitude by sacrifice for such good fortune as had befallen them, or else to implore pardon or forgiveness for whatever errors they may have committed. He (Moses) moreover foresaw that there could not be any great number of temples built either in many different places or in the same place, thinking it fitting that, as God is One, His temple also should be one."

"In the next place he does not permit those who desire to perform sacrifices in their own houses to do so, but he orders all men to rise up even from the furthest boundaries of the earth and to come to the Temple, by which command he is at the same time teaching/

teaching their dispositions most severely: for he who was not about to offer sacrifice in a pure and holy spirit would never endure to quit his country and his friends and his relations and emigrate into a distant land, but would be likely, being under the influence of a more powerful attraction than that towards piety, to continue attached to the society of his most intimate friends "

"Innumerable companies of men from a countless variety of cities, some by land and some by sea, from East and from West, from the North and from the South, came to the Temple at every festival, as if to some common refuge and safe asylum from the troubles of this most busy and painful life."

We may be sure that praise of the Temple would lose nothing in being sung by Philo, but, for all that, this quotation gives us a good idea of the large and central place that the Temple occupied in the life of the Jews. They came to it as to Jehovah's palace on earth.

The opening sentences of the quotation from Philo suggest another consideration which Dr. Buchanan Gray refers to in his book 'Sacrifice in the O.T.' (~~section~~ Chapter X p. 149. ~~on the Altars of the Temple~~). He remarks there that before the destruction of the third Temple and altar and the suspension of the sacrificial services Jewish thought had been busy "with another altar that could not be touched..... by human movements. This was the altar in heaven." He goes on to say "that" the belief in a heavenly Temple, altar and sacrificial service is part of/

of a far more general and comprehensive idea of the correspondence of things earthly and things heavenly. As it is above, so is the earth, for the copy of what is in heaven is here on the earth." He quotes from a Jewish writing "Whatever is in heaven above is also on the earth and you will find that whatsoever God created above he created also below: Above a dwelling and a cloud."

- "
1. Behold from Thy Holy dwelling Is. 65¹⁵
Through the cloud he doth judge. Job. 22.³.
 2. Then said Solomon 'Yahweh hath said he will dwell in the cloud: I built a dwelling for Thee' (1 Kings 8 12f).
 1. Above: Yahweh is in His Holy Temple.
 2. Below: The Temple of Yahweh.
 1. Above: The Throne of God.
 2. Below: The Throne of Glory.
 1. Above: The man clothed with white linen. Ezek. 9².
 2. Below: With a holy white linen tunic shall he (Aaron) be clothed (Lev. 16¹). "

Buchanan Gray adds that the general idea of correspondence is very ancient although particular applications of it may be earlier or later.

II.

Priest and Sacrifice.

God must be approached at the appointed holy place. He must be approached through a holy person - a priest, who knows the right way in which God should be approached, to whom the ritual order is known.

It is unnecessary in this essay to enquire into the origin of sacrifice, whether it was the idea of a gift that originally lay behind it, or whether it was the idea of Communion with the god, or whether in animal sacrifice the idea might be of giving blood and therefore life to the god. We need only remark here that in the time of Jesus sacrifice was ordained in the Law: it was the revealed way of approach to God. Animal sacrifice was the culminating point in ancient religion. Jewish worship had as its highest point during the year the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement.

III.

Other ways of Approach.

(a) Man could approach God through prayer. Jeremiah in his letter to the exiles in Babylon told them that they could have effective contact with God through prayer.

(b)/

- (b) The prophets declared God's will. They too were a means by which man could draw near to God, but prophecy was dead. In any case the prophet rather represented God to man than man to God. The priest represented the latter relationship and he approached God with sacrifice. We are again brought round to priest, sacrifice and Temple.

Stephen's Criticism of Sacrifice and Temple.

Stephen

objects to both animal sacrifice and Temple being regarded as of Divine institution. He denies that they are of Mosaic origin. Animal sacrifice he holds was contrary to true worship. The right worship of Israel's God was a response of faith in and obedience to God's guidance. God did not ask for sacrifice. That in fact belonged to paganism. In Israel its origin is to be traced to the influence of the period of Egyptian slavery. It was there in Egypt that the Israelites learned the practice and though rescued from it fell back on it in the wilderness.

Stephen held that the Temple too was anti-Mosaic and contrary to the mind of Moses and to the will of God. If the idea of correspondence between things earthly and things heavenly mentioned by Buchanan Gray was much canvassed at the time we can see added point in Stephen's remarks. "You say the Temple is an earthly copy of a heavenly original. That is wrong. The earthly copy of the heavenly original was the tabernacle." That is Stephen's argument. It is the tabernacle, not the Temple, that is of Divine origin, whose pattern is in heaven.

Philo/

Philo says in the passage we quoted that 'the universal world is the highest and truest Temple of God.' He glows with enthusiasm at the thought of the Temple as the centre of the whole Jewish world and notes that the institution of one Temple means that the people must put some real effort into their worship, for many of them must go large distances to reach the one place, where sacrifice can be made in due form as ordained in the Law.

Now Stephen's point of view is just that the Temple obscures the fact of the Universal Presence of God throughout the world. He says that with the tabernacle there was no danger of any such misconception. The tabernacle was unpretentious. It was movable. It went with the people. Being unpretentious it was merely a symbol, a witness that God was present with his people. He was localized at no particular place. He was to be found wherever the tabernacle rested and the people sought Him in it. David still had right thoughts of the type of place where God should be approached. He wished to erect a *σκήνωμα* for the house of Jacob. It was to be an enlarged *σκήνυ*, Evidently such that the people could meet together in it and together meet with God. It was of the same order and kind as the *σκήνυ*. Stephen seems to mean that David had no intention of erecting a building of such a pretentious and magnificent nature that its 'symbolism' 'its witnessing' would be obscured. No person would take it for other than it was, a meeting place for the nation a place where they met with Jehovah whose presence, however, was not limited to that place or comprehended within it. Stephen also seems to imply that it would not be fixed. David was not to be condemned for the type of *σκήνωμα* he wished to build/

build, but he was not without fault in that he desired change away from the simple tabernacle whose pattern was in heaven. But Solomon was entirely wrong when he built a house for God. He fixed God's Presence; he localized it. The ideas of Ezekiel would inevitably prevail with such a building. Here was the spot where Yahweh could alone be found, for here alone He could be approached by the right holy persons (the priests) in the holy way of the ritual ordained in the Law. There was no right approach to God anywhere else. The approach to Him was limited to this one spot of earth. The Temple was magnificent too. It was meant to be worthy of the greatness of God. It came to be looked upon as the worthy dwelling place of God. Naturally honour came to be paid to it for its own sake. It was *ἄριστος πάντων* This is a word that is applied to idols. The Temple became an object of worship, and the honour due to God alone was transferred to the building. It was no simple symbol, speaking of the presence of the Universal God, the God of the whole world. It was thought fit to be the palace, the dwelling place of God whose presence was comprehended within it forgetting that God had said through his prophet "What house can ye build me: heaven is my throne and earth is my footstool." In opposition to these current views Stephen held that the Presence of God was universal. He could be found in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Sinai, as well as in Jerusalem. Neither Jerusalem nor Palestine were necessary for a real and true approach to God. Anywhere and everywhere God could be approached in faith and obedience. God could be limited to no spot, no/

no house, no Temple, no land. Any Temple or religious belief that gave the idea that God could be so limited was entirely wrong. Solomon was wrong when he discarded the tabernacle of testimony and built the Temple, the dwelling place of Yahweh. It must be pointed out that Solomon in his prayer at the dedication of the Temple, says 'that the heaven of heavens cannot contain God: much less this house that I have built. Thee.' ^{1 Kings 8:27} Stephen ignores this. It is to the position obtaining in his day that he is objecting. The idea of the Temple in the thoughts of the people of his day followed naturally from the fact that the original Divine institution of the tabernacle was discarded and a house built to take its place. For this very unfortunate change Solomon was responsible.

as says

CHAPTER/

CHAPTER IV.THE MESSIAH.

Stephen, in his speech, gives a philosophy of history. He shows that the history of Israel has two constant characteristics. On the one hand God has been trying through appointed leaders to guide Israel, and bring her into fellowship with Himself. On the other hand Israel has persistently rejected God's appointed leaders. But God's purpose cannot be thwarted. He has brought history to its final and culminating point in Jesus who is the Messiah.

One of the most characteristic marks of the non-canonical literature is the assurance that the end of the ages had come. There would be some signal evidence of God's power: the Kingdom was at hand: God would immediately bring it in. Sometimes the Coming of the Kingdom is associated with the Messiah: at others the Kingdom is thought of as being brought in by the power of God, without mention of the Messiah (e.g. The Assumption of Moses). The Messiah in this literature is not essential to the Kingdom.

Going further back, we find also that in the O.T. the Messiah was not necessary to the Kingdom. In Israel's dark days her prophets declared their conviction that God would restore her to her own land and make her powerful over the nations. But not all her prophets associated the restoration with a Messiah. Deut-^{ero} Isaiah for instance has no mention of a Messiah. God Himself according/

according to him will bring about His purposes.

In the O.T. then as in the non-canonical literature, the Messiah is not a necessary part of the Kingdom. But where in the O.T. we find mention of the Messiah he is usually, though not always, thought of as the 'Son of David.' It was natural that the prophets should associate the Messiah with the House of David, for there was Nathan's prophecy, that there would never cease a son to sit on the throne of David (cf. 2 Sam 7¹²⁻¹⁶). Again David's reign had been the peak-period in Israel's past. It was natural, when the prophets thought of the restored glory of Israel, that they should associate with it the House of David, and think that then a scion of that house would sit on the throne of the Kingdom.

But in the O.T. the Messiah is not always thought of as an ideal King of the House of David. In Ps. 110 he is regarded as the ideal priest. There is now conclusive evidence (see Charles Relig. Develop. betw. O. & N. Tests. p. 78-79), that this Psalm is a Messianic hymn in honour of Simon Maccabaeus, who became ruler and high-priest in 142 B.C. The Messiah here is priest and King.

In the O.T. there is no explicit reference to the Messiah as prophet. In Zechariah he is spoken of as lowly (Zesh. 9⁹) - a type of the humble. In Malachi (4⁵) Elijah will return and herald the coming of the Kingdom. This is the nearest association of the prophet or the prophetic character with the Messiahship that we get in the O.T.

In/

In the non-canonical literature of the 2nd century B.C, there is a curious development in Messianic doctrine. In 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, 1 & 2 Maccabees, the Messiah as Son of David practically disappears, and the Messiah is associated not with Judah but with the tribe of Levi. This was due to the ascendancy of the Maccabees who belonged to this tribe. It is from the High priesthood of the Maccabees that we get the conception of the Messiah as Priest.

In this non-canonical literature there is further development when we come to the first century B.C. In 1 Enoch (37-71) the Messiah is thought of in a new way and has several new titles. Here he is referred to as the 'Son of Man.' This expression is found in the book of Daniel where it means Israel as contrasted with the oppressing Empires that had occupied the stage of history. Charles takes the name in 1 Enoch as a personal one (but see p. 178-182). According to Charles (Charles Relig. Develop. p. 85) it designates a supernatural being "who pre-existed from the beginning who possesses universal dominion and all judgement is committed to him." Four titles are applied to him in this work for the first time. 'The Christ,' (48¹⁰), the 'Righteous One' (38²²), the 'Elect One,' (40⁵), and 'the Son of Man.'

In this non-canonical literature then we have the Messiah as Son of David and King, as of the tribe of Levi and priest as well as King, but nowhere as prophet. Neither here nor in the O.T. is the Messiah organic to the kingdom though he is often associated with it. In neither O.T. nor in the non-canonical literature is there any expectation or thought of the Messiah as prophet.

How did Jesus regard Himself? There can be little doubt that he did use the title 'Son of David.' There are many passages that lead to this conclusion. In Mt. 19²⁸ - Lc. 22³⁰ His disciples are to sit with Him judging the twelve tribes of Israel i.e. He is to reign as King in the ideal Israel. He was accused at his trial of claiming to be the King of the Jews. In Mt 9²⁷: 12²³: 15²³: 20³⁰⁻³¹ the title 'Son of David' is given to Jesus. In Mk. the title is only once used - MK 10⁴⁷. Matthew may have been inclined to exaggerate the use of this title for Jesus, but there can be little doubt that he is giving us a true tradition and that the title was applied to Jesus and allowed by Him. E.F. Scott (The Kingdom and the Messiah p. 183) suggests a good reason for this. "The Messiah was a national deliverer. The expectation of national deliverance was part of the Messianic expectation of the time. Jesus accepted the title 'Son of David' which suggested the national deliverance but He understood by the nation the ideal Israel. He consented to the leadership of the people but His leadership was to rest on moral forces and the enemies He was to conquer were the sins not the oppressors of the nation. "

It is now generally agreed that He did refer to Himself as the 'Son of Man.' Writers like Charles (Relig. Develop. p. 91) and Rawlinson (N.T. Doctrine of the Christ p. 49.) say that the conception Jesus had of his role as the 'Son of Man' was a combination of the Enoch conception and the part of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah. He was to suffer but would return to judge with power, (but see p. 178. 181)

Did/ for T.W. Rawlinson's view.

Did Jesus regard Himself as a prophet? Was He so regarded by the people? The answer to the second question is that this is exactly how the people did regard Him. Mk. 6¹⁴ - Lc. 9⁷ shows that some people regarded Him as no ordinary prophet but as the returned Elijah or some great prophet of the past. Mt. 21¹¹ shows that He was spoken of as "Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth." In Mt. 21⁴⁶ the people "took him for a prophet, we are told. MK 6⁴ shows that Jesus regarded Himself as a prophet - "a prophet is not without honour save in his own country." Again in Lc. 13² he says "It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem." He claimed that He was sent to fulfil Isaiah's prophecy, "that the spirit of the Lord was upon Him to preach glad tidings to the poor."

STEPHEN'S ARGUMENT.

Stephen claims that history has reached its final culminating point in Jesus, that He is the Messiah. He is the One of whom Moses prophesied when he said "God will raise up one *as I am*". This one has now come in Jesus.

Stephen evidently is arguing against a belief that Jesus could not be the Messiah because He was only a prophet, had suffered defeat and was no Son of David. He has in mind expectations of the Messiah as something other than a prophet when he brings forward his arguments to prove that the Messiah must be a prophet.

How does he prove this? From the large canvas of history he proves that God's approach to man has always been by the direct inspiration He gave to His prophets. His chosen leaders who were in touch with Him were prophets. The priest had no place in the true religion/

religion of Israel for there was no place in it for Temple or Cultus. It had been a King and Son of David that had committed the mistake of building the Temple and of obscuring the true nature of God. Moreover God speaking through Moses had prophesied that the Messiah would be a prophet like Himself. The Messiah as bearer of Revelation must be a prophet.

But the objection might be urged 'Can the Messiah suffer defeat and death as Jesus did?' Stephen sees no meaning in the death of Jesus, but there is for him no stumbling block in it either. It is the fate that befalls all prophets. In fact it is almost proof that He is the appointed of God, for all God's appointed leaders had been rejected. Jesus the prophet had suffered death but He would return, and at His second coming his identity would be revealed. The prophet Jesus would then be seen to be the Son of Man. That Stephen regarded Jesus as the Son of Man is not dependent on the statement of ⁷⁵⁶ only. It is implied in ^{738, 68}. Jesus had 'living words' with power in them. Power was coming to men like Stephen and making them do miracles. This Jesus whom the people had rejected would return to judge the world. It is not clear how Stephen thought the Kingdom would be ushered in, but it is clear that Jesus had the power in his 'oracles' to prepare people for its Coming, to give them the 'life' of that Kingdom now, that the power that comes from Jesus is the power of the Kingdom. When the Kingdom came Jesus as Son of Man would be in it as ruler and judge.

In/

In the O.T. and the non-canonical literature the Messiah is not essential to the Kingdom and in neither is He a prophet. In Stephen's thought history has been working up to a point which was the Coming of the Messiah. He would be God's agent in preparing people for the Kingdom and He would be judge when the Kingdom came. Prophet he must be, and belong to the prophetic order, for the prophets from Abraham were the men who lived near to God, were entrusted with the knowledge of His will, were the bearers of Revelation. This one was like Moses, but He was greater than Moses and before all others. He himself and His words had power, and He would return with power and all men would see it.

CHAPTER/

CHAPTER V.

UNIVERSALISM.

Now we come to an interesting and important question. We have seen (p. 80) that for Stephen religion was independent of place and that it was possible to have a full religious life outside of Canaan and without possession of the Jewish holy places: But did he go further and say that religion was independent of nationality? Did he think of a world where in the eyes of God there was no difference between Jew and Greek, bondman and free-man, where each individual, no matter what his race or nation, could have equal status before God and an equal and full access to Him? Before answering this question we shall consider whether any of the prophets had approached this universalistic position. If any of the prophets were likely to go this length in making religion free it would be Jeremiah. He freed religion from most limiting external conditions. It was possible he said, for the exiles in Babylon to seek God and find Him there in prayer. He centred religion not in externals but in the human heart: cf. 4³⁻⁴ where what is required of Israel is a change of heart. In the New-Covenant everyman shall know God in his heart. In 7⁷ we are given to understand that the basis of religion is after the nature of an instinct in the heart after God. If it is possible to find God in Babylon and religion is independent of place, if it is independent of particular national forms of worship and is centred in the heart, surely the way/

was is clear to give access to God to all, independently of race or nation. But here the question arises 'Did even Jeremiah free religion from the all limiting conditions of nationality?' Dr. Skinner in Ch. XV of 'Prophecy & Religion' examines Dr. Welch's position that all the prophets contemplated a reconstitution of religion on a humanistic basis. In the course of his examination he says that it is extremely doubtful if even Jeremiah, the freest of the prophets from limiting conditions, ever went the length of considering that a full religious life was possible without some form of national life in Israel. He points out that even for the prophets who emphasize the ethical side of religion, religion was more than ethical service. It was a Covenant relationship between God and His people. That relationship could be broken by social injustice but could it be established, he asks, except with and through the nation? Even Jeremiah, with all the stress he places on the individual and not the nation as the unit of religion, still finds the nation the sphere of religion. He contemplates a Restoration of Israel to the land of Palestine for it could only be in some form of national life in Israel that a full and complete religious life was possible. Jeremiah felt there was a social side to religion, although he, more than any other, saw clearly that the unit in religion was the individual. He felt the necessity for some form of society in religion, but could think of no other form than the State,

In Ch. 16¹⁹⁻²¹ Jeremiah says that the Gentiles will be converted to Israel's faith. Ezekiel (38^v 39)

on the other hand holds that they shall be excluded from the Kingdom.

In/

In the O.T. there are occasional glimpses, outside of the book of Jeremiah, of better feeling towards the Gentiles. Micah (4¹⁻²) thinks of a time when 'all nations shall come unto the house of God in Zion.' Here again, however, the idea behind the words is that the Gentiles will be converted. They will come to God through the Jewish State. Salvation will be mediated to them through it. The central position of Israel is maintained. In Isaiah 19²⁵ there is a freer atmosphere and a greater feeling of equal status "Egypt, my people and Assyria, the work of my hands and Israel mine inheritance." There is also a tender accent towards the Gentiles in the beautiful book of Jonah. But for all these glimpses of better feeling the general position throughout the O.T. is one of privilege for Israel, and at most a doubtful fate for the Gentile when the 'Day of the Lord' shall come.

The same may be said of the non-canonical literature. Fitfully, as in IV.Ezra, we find tender questionings about the fate of the Gentile, but the general attitude is that the Gentile will be excluded from the Kingdom.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel made the individual the unit in religion. In the non-canonical literature it is not the nation's fate that is considered but the individual's. We must notice, however, that what concerns the writers chiefly is the fate of the individual Israelite.

We come now to Stephen's position. Did he teach the equal approach to God for every person, independent of race and nationality?

The/

The following points in his speech must be noted.

- (1) Abraham is called out of heathenism. He is a link, as it were, between Israel and the people outside of Israel. He was called in uncircumcision before the Covenant was given.

In Abraham we see the possibility of the Uncircumcised who were outside of the Covenant being called.

- (2) According to Stephen a right relationship with God is possible anywhere and is independent of locus or cultus: in fact, all cultus is wrong. True worship is response in faith and obedience.

Here we have a declaration of the possibility of access to God for all irrespective of country or mode of external worship.

- (3) Israel had departed from the true worship of God. She was in the same position as other nations. All alike were idolaters. Israel as much as the rest.

Here we see that Israel has no claim to be accounted better than other peoples.

- (4) Israel's history started with Abraham when he was called, before the Covenant between God and himself had been given. It moves on to its culminating point in Jesus.

As history advances there is a progressively wider area of government given to God's chosen leaders. Stephen makes this clear. It is a point he has in mind. Abraham is called as an individual. Joseph saves the tribe and Moses creates and saves the nation. Jesus is greater than Moses. The next step would be that the greater leader should save the world or all in it who were ready to respond to the Grace of God with faith.

Again/

Again, Jesus, according to the flesh was a Son of Abraham, but He is more than that and more than any national figure. He is Son of Man, a Supernatural being and supernatural agent of God. The age has now reached its appointed end and the great purpose of God is about to be accomplished. Stephen seems to mean that Abraham was called that from him there might come a Saviour for all, for those within Israel and those outside of Israel, who came in faith.

- (5) In addition to these points in the speech we must notice also that at this time the spirit of God was active in an extraordinary way. The meaning of Pentecost in Acts 2 is that the spirit was calling non-Israelites.
- (6) Also we must notice that Acts distinctly says there was a mission to Samaria following the death of Stephen and that an Ethiopian Eunuch was admitted to the faith by Philip.

There is nothing in Stephen's speech to enable us to say definitely that he advocated the extension of the Gospel to Jew and Gentile alike without any distinction. In the speech he is answering charges on certain particular points and this is not one of them. But all the reasons are present why he should extend the Gospel freely to all. It is true that the world's Saviour has come out of Israel, but He has come to a world all the parts of which require Salvation. Israel requires it no less than the rest. There is no intrinsic holiness in any country or cultus. God demands faith and not cultus and faith is possible for all without distinction of race. The Gentiles could have faith, as/

as well as the Jews. Moreover the Spirit of God is actually calling men out of the Gentile nations, even as Abraham had been called. When one takes all these considerations into account one feels that Stephen must have taught that the Gospel was open to all without any difference. The mission to Samaria and the incident of the Ethiopian follow naturally from Stephen's position.

There is still a very important consideration remaining. Stephen had the teaching of Jesus to guide him. Jesus gives us the impression of One who set no store by nationality or national custom. E.F. Scott (The Kingdom and the Messiah p. 178) says truly that the message of Jesus "was by its nature universal and He rejoiced to think that Gentiles could be responsive to it." (Mt 8¹⁰ Lc 7⁹).

"He looked to a time when many would come from the East and the West and sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of God." It is true that Jesus shows a certain reluctance to go beyond Israel but Dr. Scott sufficiently explains this by the fact that "as Messiah to the nation He felt His activities should be confined to it." The attitude of Jesus, and the evident calling of men of nationality other than Jewish by the spirit of Jesus, must have led Stephen to open the Kingdom to all believers of whatever nationality they might be. His Hellenism must have prepared him to welcome the attitude of Jesus, and must have helped to make him the keen supporter of Jesus he became. The late Professor Bacon (Harvard University Studies) contrasts the position of Paul with that of Stephen with respect to the continuance of Jewish privilege in the Kingdom. According to Paul, Abraham is heir of all things and so is his seed, his Son, for God has created in Him of twain, one new man - Eph. 2¹⁵. The heir is not only the Messiah but the Messiah and His people cf. Eph. 1³⁻¹¹. But the inheritance given to the Messiah and His people, to the Son and Jew and Gentile made/

view/

made One in Him, is to be Lordship, Dominion over the whole creation. (Eph. 1²⁰⁻²³ Col¹⁶⁻²⁰). "This," says Bacon, "is Pharisaism in a Christian setting." The Gentiles through faith became part of Israel: they are grafted into Israel and with the believing people in Israel, obtain Israel's inheritance of dominion over the *κόσμος*. Paul's view of the inheritance is cosmological: Stephen's is spiritual.

We agree with Bacon that Stephen's view is spiritual. God's purpose was to give, not world dominion, but Communion with Himself through Jesus. To this Communion through Jesus there was equal access for all, Jew and Gentile alike. That, we believe, was Stephen's view.

PART/

P A R T III.

PART III.

THE VALUE of the SOURCE of ACTS 6¹ - 8³.

CHAPTER I.The Historicity of the Speech.

Is the Speech, as we have it, to any extent an authentic speech by Stephen or is it a composition of Luke. Our view of Acts 6¹- 8³ will depend largely on our answer to this question .

A familiar criticism of the speech is that it does in no way answer the charges brought against Stephen. Lake -Cadbury in Vol IV., Begin. of Christianity p. 69, commenting on the speech, say "This is not a rebuttal of the charges brought against him. It is an impassioned attack on the conduct of the Jews from the time of Joseph down to that of the speaker, and on the importance which they attach to the Temple."

"In contrast to this practical justification of the accusation that he spoke evil of the Temple is a noticeable absence of any attack on the Law of Moses. On the contrary, the underlying contention of Stephen seems to be that the Law was the word of God, which ought to be observed but was not Furthermore, the speech has no clear logical construction. It is easy to see that it is a sketch of the history of Israel and it is easy to note the verses at which he passes from Abraham to Joseph, from Joseph to Moses and so on. But it is valueless to do this and call it an analysis."

Lake/

Lake-Cadbury conclude that the speech "represents either a good tradition as to what Stephen really did say or at least what a very early Christian not of the Pauline school, would have wished him to say." They add that "the case for compositeness in the speech seems as weak as the case for compositeness in the introduction and conclusion is plausible."

There are many points in their view of the contents of the speech of which a different opinion can be maintained. For instance, the speech may not be a rebuttal of the charges, but it may still be for all that a very adequate answer to the charges, and the only one that could be given in the circumstances. Lake-Cadbury seem to miss not only the logical construction, but what must be emphasized as the logical necessity between the different parts of the speech, and it is possible to maintain an opinion of Stephen's view of the Law which is entirely different from theirs.

Dr. P. Gardner (Cambridge Biblical Essays) holds that with regard to the Speeches in Acts it is impossible to deny the possibility that they were based to some extent on reports of what was actually said, but the language of the speeches is Lucan. Referring to Stephen's speech on pp. 395-396 he says -

"Here we have facts which may often have been subject of conversation between Paul and his disciples. And some of the graphic touches in the Lucan narrative - the face like the face of an angel: the vision of Jesus 'on the right hand of God.', Even the words 'Lord lay not this sin to their charge' - may have come to Luke through Paul. To suppose that we owe to the same channel the Lucan version of the Speech of Stephen -- is to violate the rules of historic/

historic probability." He continues (p. 397), "That Speech (i.e. of Stephen), is, it must be confessed, a difficult passage for the admirers of Luke. In the first place it gives us a different view of Stephen from that accepted by modern critics. We have learned to think of Stephen as one of the forces in the stream of tendency which bore the Church away from too close adherence to Jewish tradition in the direction of Christian freedom. And we are told that the accusation against Stephen was that he blasphemed against Moses and wishes^d to abandon Jewish customs. Yet nearly the whole of the address is a summary of O.T. history with scarcely a word belonging to the new Faith until the very end. It is doubtless possible to trace through the speech a thread of purpose: as in time past, the speaker says, the Jewish race had rejected Moses, their destined benefactor, so they had again rejected and slain his great successor the promised Messiah. He also warns his hearers against attributing extreme sanctity to any place or Temple. But these purposes are so much overlaid with colourless narrative that they do not clearly appear. It is certainly not a speech to raise the passions of his hearers to fever heat. The speech is not all in the Lucan style and, as Norden observes, the style is vastly inferior to that of the other speeches in Acts. It seems certain that it is adopted from some written authority: but that it has claims to historicity can scarcely be conceded. Whence it comes we are ignorant."

Foakes- Jackson (Acts of the Apostles: Moffatt N.T. Commentaries) characterizes the speech as 'an echo of O.T. prophecy.' He says there is nothing "Even in the violent denunciation at the end of the speech which would convict Stephen of blasphemy nor can we account for/

for Stephen's outburst of indignation by supposing that what he had said before had provoked his hearers, who can hardly have seen the underlying argument, assumed to exist by those who see in the discourse a 'masterly defence.'

We have quoted these different opinions about the speech at some length to show how it is regarded in certain quarters. Before we can use the speech as an authoritative document for early Church history we have to seek proof of its historicity and authenticity. For such proof we are confined to the Speech itself. What can it say for itself? Before we go further there is an important consideration to be noted. It is pointed out by Pahncke (Krit und Stud above), who asks us to notice that the charge has two aspects (1) the personal one: that Stephen was a slanderous, blasphemous fellow: and (2) the objective charge, that he spoke against the Law and the Temple. Deep hostility had risen against Stephen the man, in addition to the hatred of the doctrines he preached. "He is a blasphemer, a bad fellow," they said "and he speaks continually against the Law and the Temple."

How then does the Speech answer the charges brought against Stephen: or does it answer them at all? He had to answer the personal charge of blasphemy. This he could do. But with regard to the charge of speaking against the Law and Temple he was in a difficulty. He could not and would not deny he had spoken against both. He owed it to his honour, to his conscience, to his Master and to his God, to stand to his position. His views on the Law and Temple were unorthodox. But then they were founded on Scripture history and could be defended out of that history. He could appeal to history and review it, showing the true position in it/

it which Moses occupied, and how the Temple and Law stood with respect to Moses. He could not deny or rebut the charge that he had given expression to unorthodox views on both these institutions, but he could answer them and defend his position, claiming that the truth about the Law and the Temple lay on his side. His best method of defence was an appeal to history. In his review of past history he could also show that he was no blasphemer, that he did not fall behind his accusers in reverence for God and regard for Israel's heroes.

I. Stephen begins his historical review with the name of God. He uses a term - 'God of Glory' - which is full of reverence and awe. God is transcendent and immanent, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent. He could work at a distance and He calls Abraham out of distant Mesopotamia. He brings him to Canaan, in which He gives him no inheritance, but which he promises that his seed shall inherit. God cannot lie. His prophecy will be fulfilled. He is the force behind history and nothing can thwart His purpose. As a seal to the Promise God gives Abraham the Covenant of Circumcision.

One must notice, not only Stephen's reverence for God, in all this, but the reverence and respect he shows for Abraham. He makes him a figure of great dignity, noble and strong in faith.

But the chief theme is God. He is a God of Grace who has chosen Israel, given Promises to Israel and delivered Israel out of danger. He provides leaders for them who ^{bring} saw them out of their difficulties. Joseph and Moses are sent by Him.

He/

He is a God of Grace and omnipresent. He is lord over nature and man. He sends famine which causes Jacob to send his sons into Egypt. So God brings his purposes to pass.

Stephen had sketched the dignity and faith of Abraham. He likewise beautifully touches on the piety and magnanimity and deep sense of kinship with his brethren in Joseph.

Anyone hearing these passages in the Speech could not but decide that the charge of blasphemy against Stephen was slander. He refers to the patriarchs as "our fathers." His pride in them is as great as that of his accusers and his respect for them as deep as theirs. For him as for them Israel's history rests on divine election. There is a divine purpose in it and it is divinely guided. He quotes from the Scriptures. For him as for them they are authoritative. This man was no blasphemer.

When Stephen comes to Moses he comes to the parting of the ways. He makes Moses a great figure, with great powers natural and acquired. God bestowed power upon him, for he was the person appointed by God to deliver the Israelites out of Egypt and to weld them into a nation. So far there could be no charge against Stephen that he spoke "against Moses." His admiration for him as the greatest figure in Israel's history was clear and unmistakable. But now Stephen parts company with his accusers.

II. Moses was favoured of God and called into his Presence on Mt. Sinai and there given prophetic oracles for the people, which would have given them 'life,' if they had accepted them. Moses was a prophet. He himself makes this clear when he said "A prophet shall the Lord, your God, raise up/

up, unto you ... like unto me." Moses then, as a prophet, prophesied of Jesus.

As we have pointed out in our notes we believe that the "living oracles" which Moses received had nothing to do with the Jewish Law. They were something better which would have given "life." That Stephen can prove out of history that such "oracles" were given to Moses we cannot assert, but he could rest on legend for it.

The Israelites refused the "living words." They fell back on the idolatry and sacrificial worship they had known in Egypt. God gave them up to it and they worshipped "the host of heaven." That is clear from the Statement of Amos.

What Stephen is saying is this "Moses was not a lawgiver. He was a prophet. He received "oracles" to give to the people that would have given them "life" and united them to God in living faith and obedience. That was the worship God wanted and which He wished to give through Moses. Our fathers rejected it and fell back on Egyptian idolatry. Moses did not institute sacrifice. The type of worship Moses had to give was spiritual: sacrifice is pagan. You accuse me of being "against Moses." It is you with your sacrificial worship that are anti-Mosaic."

He goes on, "Moses gave our fathers a tabernacle of witness. With that they were successful. David wished to change that a little, but not much, but Solomon built a Temple! This was entirely contrary to the spirit of Moses. The tabernacle was a witness to the Presence of God, a symbol of it only, and went with the people. The Temple localized God and obscures the truth that He is everywhere. No building can do justice to the being of God."

There/

There was disturbance among the members of the Court. Their wrath was rising. Stephen turns to them with words of reproach. "You stubborn, worthless people. You have always rejected your leaders: you have slain the prophets and now you have slain the Messiah. You have a Law that you believe was given you by angels and you have not even kept that! "

The Sanhedrin could bear no more. Speaking against the Law and the Temple? Of course he was. There was no need to convict him, even if the feelings of his judges had given them time to do so. He had convicted himself. They rushed him out to his death.

We have allowed the speech to speak for itself and our conclusions about it are -

- I. If defence means to contradict and rebut the charges made against one, then this speech is only defence in the first part where Stephen, by the reverence he shows for God and the patriarchs, shows that he is no blasphemer. It is true that, in lingering over the pre-Mosaic history of Israel, Stephen is both showing the length of time when Israel had no law, no sacrifice and no Temple, no Holy Land, and that in that period there was in certain instances, a perfect relationship with God, for all God wanted then and all that he wants at any time is a response of faith and obedience. In this way he shows in the first part the true worship of God as opposed to the false worship with which he deals in the second part. That is true, but there is this further point, that he does all this in such a way as to show his great reverence/

reverence for God, his great appreciation and feeling for the Grace of God. He gives God all the glory. God it is who initiates and carries to completion great purposes for Israel's welfare. With his reverence for God goes his regard and respect for the patriarchs and Moses. By his detailed description of the qualities of Moses, as also by the terms in which he refers to him, calling him Judge, Deliverer and Prophet, he shows that his reverence for Moses is as great if not greater than that of his accusers.

So far Stephen has been ~~def~~ending himself and doing it successfully, for no one hearing him could have thought him a blasphemer. But there may be charges against one which one cannot rebut, which one does not wish to rebut, but which one wishes to answer. This was Stephen's position when charged with speaking against the Law and the Temple. He did hold unorthodox ~~v~~iews on both. He had no wish to deny that he did, but he did wish to defend his views as true. This he did and did it well. He rebuts the charge of blasphemy and defends his position with regard to the Law and the Temple. The Speech is very much to the point: it is not away from the charges but is a definite and pointed reply to them. It is difficult to see how Stephen could have answered otherwise and remained a man of honour.

- II. Stephen had certain decided views on Israel's history. He had thought out the course of that history and he had it clear and connected in his mind. His views differed from those generally held. He took a different/

different view of the work of Moses, of the Law and of the Temple, from those generally held of these subjects. When he was charged with speaking "against Moses, the Law and the Temple," he thought the best reply would be a statement of what he held the course of Israel's history to have been. This explains the form of the Speech which is a review of history. It also explains the close logical connection between the parts. The Speech is a scheme carefully thought out by the speaker in the days before the charge was raised against him, and is all closely connected. From Abraham to Moses we have God carrying out His Promise. Moses was a great figure and type of a greater one. Here we have the middle and the end of the speech connected. Moses wished to lead the people to a spiritual worship of God without sacrifice or holy place: therefore sacrifice and holy place are false worship.

III. There are distinct individual traits in the speech.

Here only in Scripture have we reference to the "living oracles," If we are right in our understanding of the phrase, they represent a revelation to Moses that is only mentioned here in the Scriptures. Moses is regarded by the Speaker as a leader, deliverer and prophet, but not as a law-giver. The speaker's views on sacrifice and Temple as anti-Mosaic and his way of proving from an Aorist in the LXX text of Amos that the children of Israel sacrificed in the desert to "the host of heaven," are marks of a distinctive individuality. The speaker is a man of keen feeling. He drives home his points with emphasis cf 7⁵ (no, not a pace's length). He shows his feeling again 7³⁵⁻³⁸ when/

when he speaks of the rejection of Moses. In the end he answers the wrath of the Court with indignant words. We find then that the speech is to the point. It answers the charges brought against Stephen. It has strong traits of individuality in it and contains views on certain points that are unique in Scripture. There are no signs of compositeness in it. It is closely woven together, nor can it be a composition by Luke. The individuality and the unexpectedness of the point of view preclude this. We have Dr. Gardner's authority for saying that the language is not Lucan (see p. 120). So we hold that the Speech is historical and authentic. Whence then did it come? There are marks of a strong personal interest in 7⁶15 (... "his face as it had been the face of an angel"): 7⁵5 (... "he looked up steadfastly into heaven"). We have the impression that the report of the speech came from a very sympathetic observer, one whose interest would cause him to remember not only the looks but the words of the martyr.

not explicitly
from
style

CHAPTER/

CHAPTER II.Unity of the Source (Acts 6¹ - 8³).I. Acts 6¹-14.

Our extract opens with a dispute between the Hellenists and the Hebraists because the Hellenist widows are being neglected in the distribution of alms. This leads to the appointment of the Seven to superintend the distribution, either to the whole community, or to the Hellenists alone. Then follows an additional historical note to the effect that many of the priests had come over to Christianity. Following that, details of Stephen's missionary activity among the people are given, an activity which brings him into conflict with certain synagogue members who arouse the Pharisees and people against him and he is brought before the Sanhedrin.

It has sometimes been argued that 6⁷ is an intrusion into the narrative, and must therefore be regarded as a foreign element (See p. 14.). Further in 6⁸ there seems to be rather an abrupt development in the activities of Stephen. He is appointed as one of the officers for the distribution of charity. He is immediately found taking a strong and active part in teaching certain distinctive views of Moses and the Temple and their relation to Jesus. But at the time of the appointment of the Seven, there is no mention of any differentiation of function. The appointment did not mean that/

that only the Apostles were to serve the Word, and the Seven were to serve tables. The Seven were men of outstanding ability and character. As such they might very well take a leading part in spreading Christianity. But even if this were the case, the feeling of disconnectedness between 6¹⁻⁶ and 6⁸ still remains. Another objection might be raised that Stephen would not have been appointed one of the Seven if he had held the views to which he gave utterance later, and which brought him into conflict with the Sanhedrin. There seems little time allowed in the text for the development of them.

Are we to say with Jackson-Lake, Moffatt and others, that there is compositeness in the section 6¹⁻¹⁴. Jackson-Lake suggest (Begin. of Christ. Vol IV. ad loc) that 6¹⁻⁶ may have come from a life of Stephen other than that which gives us 6^{8f}.

When we examine the language of the whole passage 6¹⁻⁸ there are individual traits, not only in the Speech but in the whole passage, which differentiate it from the surrounding material. This is the conclusion reached by Pahncke (*Studien und Kritiken*) who has examined the language closely: He notes the following points. Up till

now in Acts believers are spoken of as *πιστεύοντες* or as the *ἐκκλησία* : now they are called *μαθηταί*. Here alone in Acts are the Apostles called *οἱ δώδεκα* elsewhere *οἱ ἑνδεκά* 1²⁶; 2¹⁴ or *οἱ ἀποστόλοι*.

Only here in the N.T. outside of the Gospels is the name *ὁ κύριος τῶν ἀνθρώπων* conferred upon Jesus. Here only is the Risen Christ placed standing at God's right hand ^{In} *Lc. 22⁶⁹*. Jesus is sitting in agreement with Ps. 110¹.

According/

According to Pahncke, the whole extract is rich in

ῥῆμα λεγόμενα and unusual verbal constructions.

e.g. καθήμεγίνοντο for καθήμεσαν. (61).

πληθύνειν intrans, (61).

ἡμυνάτο 'defended' (724).

ἔμωσεν ὑποτίθησαν instead of ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς. (741)

ἔλευσεν τοὺς δικαίους (752)

ὑψώθη τοὺς οὐρανούς (742).

There are peculiarities of style too: ἤρρεσκεν δὲ λόγος.

εἰς ὧπιον παντός τοῦ πλήθους (75) instead

of the Dat. (Rs. 8⁸. Acts 12³. Matt. 14¹⁶): coining of

expressions in δὲ λόγος τοῦ θείου ἡρόσαντο (67)

preference for sudden noteworthy changes of subjects

(66; 74; 76; 710).

Pahncke concludes from his examination of the language that in the whole passage 6¹- 8¹ we are dealing with a piece of narrative "which on its formal side must be regarded as something bearing a definite and uniform stamp."

There are marks then that differentiate this whole passage from the rest of Acts. Linguistically it has a character of its own and seems to come all from one source. Is there then any explanation of the feeling of disconnectedness in it above referred to? Is it not this? We are first introduced to the Hellenists. They are people who hold views antagonistic to the Temple. Stephen is one of them. He probably had his advanced views at the time of his election as one of the Seven. The Hellenists are growing in numbers and influence in the Church. A second circumstance is then added, to the effect that Christianity, which/

which now had these Hellenist adherents, invaded the Temple, and many of the priests became Christian. A situation was developing where the Church through its Hellenist party and the Temple were sure to come into conflict. This conflict came through the preaching of Stephen. The whole Section 6¹⁻¹⁴ is the work of one mind detailing the different circumstances in the situation as it developed. Stephen is one of the Seven, a keen Hellenist and a preacher. He is all three. 6⁷ becomes, not an intrusion into the narrative but a very integral part of the explanation of the situation. 6¹⁻⁶ and 6⁸ are really quite intimately connected. Because Stephen had now an official position within the Church, he may have felt the call of leadership and taken a more public part in advocating Christianity. The feeling of disconnectedness between 6¹⁻⁶ and 6⁸ comes from the fact that the source assumes in 6¹⁻⁶ that the readers know sufficiently well who the Hellenists are, that they are people who hold views antagonistic to the Temple. Another assumption is made by critics that the Seven were financial officers only and not preachers. Once we know who the Hellenists were and grant that the Seven could preach if they had the gifts for it, the situation is plain and there is no want of connection between the parts of our section.

II. The Epilogue (Acts 7⁵⁴ - 8³).

What of the Epilogue? If we are right in our notes, Stephen has taken away all glory from the Law. 'You regarded it as Divine' he says. 'That is merely your understanding of its origin.' The Sanhedrin "gnash on him with their teeth" and no wonder. The Law, of which they had/

had such a high opinion, is being made a very "weak and beggarly" thing. Stephen sees a vision of the Glory of God and Jesus standing at the right hand of God and says, "I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." This was to Jewish ears blasphemy enough. Here was an irresponsible person, who claimed to see God and the Messiah, who claimed to see the secrets of Heaven. They rush at him and cast him out of the city and begin to stone him. The trial had proceeded according to judicial proceeding when Stephen's utterances roused the Court to fury. They rushed him out of the city and stoned him. But now comes a difficulty. The witnesses, we are told, laid down their garments at a young man's feet whose name was Saul and they stoned Stephen (759). The first stoning seems to be by the members of the Sanhedrin who rushed Stephen out of the city. Then there comes this awkward passage where the witnesses begin the stoning. The obvious suggestion to make is that this second mention of stoning came from a different source which was concerned with Paul's history. For a discussion on the point see

p. b 194-197

759-60. - Stephen calling on God and saying "Lord Jesus receive my Spirit" and he kneeled down and cried with a loud voice, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." And when he had said this he fell asleep.

It must be confessed that there is a strong resemblance in all this to the death of Jesus as recorded in the Gospel of Luke. In Lc. 23³⁴ Jesus prays; so does Stephen. In Lc. 23⁴⁶ Jesus calls out; so too Stephen. But it must be noticed/

noticed that both language and order are different. The death of Stephen without doubt had a great effect on Paul. The death of Jesus may have had a similar effect on Stephen. He was now suffering at the hands of the people as Jesus had done. Is it unlikely that he had so learned Christ that he like his Master, should have prayed for forgiveness for his enemies? There is no good ground for denying the historicity of the account, or for marking it down as a composition in imitation of the behaviour of Jesus.

There is no reason to doubt that the manner of his death is accurately described. We conclude then that the only real difficulty in the Epilogue is with the double reference to the stoning of the martyr.

III.

The Speech.

An interesting and important question emerges. Have we the speech in the language in which it was delivered or is it, as we have it, a translation from Aramaic? If it is a translation and we have the speech only at second hand, then we cannot be too sure about the difficult passages. They may have been wrongly or indifferently translated. It is important to discover what the language of Stephen was.

If it is true that Aramaic must be spoken before the Sanhedrin then our question is answered. But there is no evidence to prove that this was the case. Prof. C.C. Torrey in his 'Composition and Date of Acts' has declared that in Acts 1-15 we have a translation from an Aramaic original. We are here only concerned with what he has to say about the speech of Stephen. In two important passages

7³⁸ and 7⁵³, he thinks he finds translation from Aramaic.

7³⁸. "Is it not likely," he asks here, "that 'words of life' 7³⁸ 7³⁹ ^{was} were accidentally written.

7³⁸ 7³⁹ 'living words' or is it merely the rendering that is at fault? The reference is plainly to such passages as Ezek. 20^{10f}
 "and I gave them my statutes and gave them my judgements, which, if a man do, he shall live by them."

But we have seen that the probability is that Stephen takes no such high view of the Statutes and judgements, if by these the Law is meant. In our view he is referring not to the Law, but to something better than the Law - to "living words" which the people refused.

In 7⁵³, with reference to the phrase *εἰς διατάξεις* αὑγέων he says, "Here, *εἰς* represents } *in Aramaic* meaning 'according to,' 'by.'

But is the meaning 'by' the commands of angels? (see notes). pp 55-59

The theory of an Aramaic original is no help in these passages.

What proof can we offer that the language of Stephen was Greek? The speech as we have it is the work of one who knew LXX Greek; whose idiom was that of the LXX. His quotations are from it and his arguments sometimes rest on passages where it differs from the Hebrew text. Pahncke has made a study of the LXX quotations and idiom in the Speech. He says about the quotations used
 "The /

"The LXX is the source for all without exception. The repetition of the words is not always a simple literal one but from memory - a fact which shows that their author is at home in the Scriptures, but in certain cases the stress is laid not so much on the exact wording as on the meaning and the evidence it supplies. To suit this parts of a quotation are omitted (e.g. 7³ καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἴκου τῶν πατρῶν σου.) particles and verb forms are changed (7⁷ and 7⁴⁹ instead of καί in LXX α δ' ὡς ἦ 7³³ for κύτοι α κύτοι and so on separate passages are put together (7³³): an affirmative statement in the original is changed into a question (7⁵⁰) ^{there are others} and similar changes. But even outside the province of quotations the LXX rings through in turns of speech and expression e.g. δοῦναι εἰς καταέχυσιν. (74-45 cf. LXX Gen. 17⁸: 48⁴): τῶν Ἰωδαίῳ ---- ἀπείδωτο. (in sense of 'to sell' 7⁹ cf. LXX Gen. 37²⁷ and also Philo De. Joseph 11⁵): καταδοθῆναι τινά. (7¹⁹ cf. LXX Exod. 1⁹): ἀστειοῖ (for Μωϋσῆ) for Moses. (7²⁰ cf. LXX. Exod 2² and also Philo Vita Moysis 119).

We may add to these 7⁵³ εἰς διατρέχας ἀγγέλων which we hold to be explained by LXX idiom and 7⁴³ where Stephen's argument depends entirely on the LXX form.

The language of the Speech as we have it is LXX Greek. Was this the language of Stephen or of the observer who reported what he said? We must conclude that the argument is too closely woven into the Greek LXX (cf 7⁴³) for the language of Stephen to have been anything but/

but Greek. Of course we cannot for a moment say we have the speech verbatim as delivered. ^{but} There is an intensity of interest in the whole Section 6¹ - 8³ that assures us that the reporter would be careful to give as much of the Speech as he could in the words that were used.

We find then that the source for our Speech was a sympathetic observer of what happened, that we have a reliable report of it as it was actually spoken. We also find that the whole section has individual traits that separate it from the rest of Acts. There is unity and not compositeness in Section 6¹-14 and but for the double mention of stoning, no difficulty in accepting the account of the death as historical. We have here, it would seem, a document from the Hellenist section of the Church. Here we may notice the importance Luke attached to this document. Stephen's is the longest speech in the book of Acts. We have no reason to believe that Luke has abbreviated it. He means us to note the importance of the incident and of the attitude of Stephen. Stephen brought Church and Law, Church and Temple into conflict. Hellenism in the Church could not live and make terms with either Law or Temple. Would the Temple crush the Church? Would the Church survive and with it Hellenism be triumphant? This was the important issue at stake. It was an important document that told of the incident of Stephen. Luke shows his sense of its importance by giving the speech at full length and as he found it. It is no composition.

P A R T I V .

PART IV.STEPHEN the MAN.

We are now in a position to gather together what we know of Stephen the man, apart from his teaching.

He was one of the Seven. As such, he was a man of established reputation and high character, and also of tact and administrative ability. These were the qualifications necessary for all the Seven. But Stephen takes the lead amongst them, because he is, by reason of his qualities, an outstanding man, and so his name stands first on the list. This probably does not simply mean that the story was to be continued through him but that he was the most outstanding of the chosen Seven. He too has his characteristics further detailed. In 6⁵ we are told that he was a "man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit." We must understand by *πίστις* here a strong warm implicit trust in God. It points to a warmth of religious nature. He admires the perfect faith of Abraham, and Moses in his eyes is a great figure of faith. Stephen had faith and the Holy Spirit. In virtue of his possession of *χάρις* - the gift of God, of His Spirit in him - he is able to do *τίματα* - wonders among the people. He is a man of *δύναμις* power. With his warmth of nature, his devotion to the *Δίκεας* and the Holy Spirit in him, he is not the type of man who can rest content without sharing the good news.

He/

He is an active force. He has not only a warm, ^{active} forceful/nature, but he is a visionary. Attention has been drawn to the theophanies he mentions in the course of his Speech. He is fond of recounting them and he himself has a vision of this Glory of God before he dies.

He is of a forceful and active nature. He seems to have been the first to have actively carried the Word to the people. Previously there have been two methods of approach to the people. Preaching was *κατ' οἶκον* from house to house, and seems to have been carried on in a quiet intimate way. ^{Also} The Apostles met in Solomon's porch and there spoke of Jesus. Their work was under the eye of the Temple authorities and was permitted by them. The Apostles did not so much seek the people as the people sought them. But now Stephen did signs and wonders *ἐν τῷ λαῷ* - among the people. This looks as if he was carrying the word out into the street among the people, ^{as if} that he was carrying on an active propaganda for Christianity.

He was active and forceful. He was courageous also and under the power of the spirit and in faithfulness to Jesus, was ready to go on regardless of any opposition or any consequences that might happen to himself. He does not try to avoid the charges made against him. Honour and faith to Jesus would not allow of that. He was too good a man to attempt it. He boldly faces the charges and with great courage and spirit states his case, although he in all probability knew that it meant death to do so. He is not afraid, in the height of his devotion to Jesus, to turn on his opponents and call them slanderers and murderers.

He/

He is fearless of consequences when he reproaches them with want of faithfulness "They got what they considered ordinances of angels but even those they had not kept."

He has a warm nature. He is enthusiastic. His manner is not the cool detached one of the philosopher. He is a captured soul, and his heart and all his feelings are engaged by the great cause. He cannot think or speak calmly of the treatment meted out to Moses. "This man whom they refused... God gave as a Saviour.. This is the man.." with the repetition ^{he} ~~heaping~~^{sing} up the grandeur of Moses and the enormity of the crime of the people. He is not content merely to state Abraham's faith by saying he believed in God's promise of the inheritance though he gave him ^{no part} nothing in it, but he emphasizes his point with feeling. He gave him not a pace in it. He is deeply moved ^{by} with the whole story of Moses, his sympathy with and love of the brethren, his anxiety to help, the height of his faith and devotion to God, and then his senseless rejection. It is for him the story of his ~~M~~ Master. He sees his Master in all this and feels with Him and for Him.

He is a man of ability. His reply has pith and point. He appeals to history - the common ground between himself and his accusers. Nothing can be finer than the place he gives to God in the history. It is all God - initiated and guided, and for the good of his people. No one could maintain the charge of blasphemy in the face of this. He ~~deftly~~ turns the tables on his opponents. The charge is that he has spoken against Moses: he shows them to be the real enemies of Moses. They are the true followers of Moses who believe as he does. And so he defeats ⁴³ his opponents in the synagogue.

He/

He is a close student of Scripture. He has drunk deeply of the well of the prophets. God is life and maintains living contact with his people, not through a dead law on tables of stone, but through the mind^s and souls of his chosen leaders, of whom the greatest, foretold by Moses, was Christ. It is this life from Christ that he himself has felt. He has ability to understand his faith, conviction that that faith is right, and he has courage and ability to defend it. Not only does he know Scripture, but he knows the wide field of **S**acred legend. He is a student of sacred history over the whole field known to his time.

He is a Jew. He refers to "our fathers," and speaks in every word with the assurance that if others are Jews so is he. But he is of the Hellenist party among the Jews. He belongs to those who, though firm in their faith in God, feel that the sacrificial worship enjoined by the Law is unworthy of that God and wrong, that a spiritual God must receive spiritual worship. Stephen found this position confirmed in Christ with "life" and power added. Stephen's Bible was the Septuagint, and his language was Greek, with the idiom of the Septuagint. In all probability he hailed from Northern Egypt and had experience of idolatry and life abroad. But this brings us to our next consideration.

DIVISION/

DIVISION II.

DIVISION II.

PART I.

THE ROOTS of STEPHENISM.

CHAPTER I.

Stephen in relation to Philo.

It is interesting to consider whether Stephen was in any way indebted to Philo either for subject matter or for methods.

n / Philo was an Alexandria Jew, born in Alexandria about 20 years before the birth of Christ. He belonged to a wealthy and influential family and was himself a man of note and influence. He was a close student of Greek literature. "He names no fewer than 64 Greek writers and he alludes to or quotes frequently from such sources as Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Solon, the great Greek tragedians, Plato and others." (Edersheim, Life & Times of Jes. the Mess. 1 Vol. p.40). Being a Jew with such a knowledge of and interest in Greek literature he was in a favourable position to interpret Greek literature to the Jew and Jewish custom to the Greek. He was much under the influence of Platonic thought. He had learned from Plato the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, that the actual is a shadow of the real. But while he was attracted by and followed Platonism he adhered to his Jewish faith, and Moses was for him the greatest/

greatest figure in history. "From him had all sages learned and with him alone was all truth to be found - not indeed in the letter, but under the letter of the Holy Scripture." (Edersheim. p. 41). The truth of Greek philosophy was to be found in the Law of Moses. How was it to be found? His answer was - 'By allegorical interpretation.' There was the plain meaning of Holy Writ. That was the body of the truth. There was the spiritual meaning to be arrived at by allegorical interpretation. That was the soul of truth. When we get at the 'soul' of truth, it will be the same for Jew and Greek alike.

We must examine Philo's views on the letter and spirit of Scripture. In the De Vita Moysis (11) 187f he says, "I thus recognise that all that stands written in the sacred books are Divine oracles, declared through him (i.e. Moses) and I will go on to details Of these sacred utterances some were spoken by God in person using his marvellous prophet as an interpreter, some were revealed as the result of question and answer, and some were announced by Moses, in person, in a state of inspiration and possession." Philo here declares his belief in the verbal inspiration of Scripture. But he extends the same belief to the Septuagint translation. Arguments can be drawn from the language of both.

It has been pointed out by others (*Edersheim* and lately afresh by Prof. H.A.A. Kennedy (Expositor 1919 Febr) that "there can be little question that Philo stood in a long succession of allegorical interpreters of the O.T. The practice had been reduced to a science." This is important. When we speak of Philo we are speaking of the example best known to us of a science that was developed, well-known/

well-known and, probably, much more widely known than we have hitherto thought. Philo mentions that different interpretations of a passage are given by different authorities in the *Science* cf. (*Quis. Rer. Div. Haeres* 280ff)

There is then the plain letter of Scripture. There is the allegorical meaning of Scripture for those initiated into the *Science* of allegory. Now will this work out with reference to, say, the ritual requirements of the Law? Here we get a rather extraordinary situation. In the *De Migr. Abr.* 89 he inveighs against those who neglect the strict practice of the required legal forms, and he goes on to say "As it is, like people living alone in isolation or bodiless souls having no communication with city or village or family they look down on the opinion of the multitude and search for bare truth in itself; and yet the sacred word teaches them to pay respect to estimable public opinion and to abolish none of those usages established by inspired men who surpassed any of our time... It is ~~the~~ part of the mature soul to share both in being and in seeming to be: it must aim not only at gaining esteem in the men's quarters, but also at being praised at the hearth where women sit." As against this we have a passage quoted by Dr. Kennedy (*Exposit.* above) from *De Cherub.* 42 "We instruct in the Divine mysteries these initiates who are worthy of the most sacred ritual: these are the people who, without arrogance, practice true and genuinely unadorned piety, but we shall never be hierophants for those in the grasp of an incurable disease, the stupidity of set phrases, the paltry trifling with names, the clap-trap of appointed custom."

The/

The letter of the Law must be observed but the better instructed people will have it only as a basis for its higher spiritual meaning. They will observe the actual ritual requirements of the Law to meet the tender conscience of the weaker brethren but the true worship is other than this. It is in its spiritual meaning. Philo himself leaves the impression that it is the spiritual worship that is important. The tendency of his work was to give people this impression. No wonder he had to correct it.

We have gone far enough into Philo's method. Philo felt that the Jews had a great treasure in their Scriptures. There they had the Revelation of the true God. But he wished to meet the Greek. To do this he stripped the worship of God of its limitations of national custom. In doing this and seeking to make the worship of the God of the Jews universal he gave away too much. The natural tendency was to think that the national custom was altogether unnecessary.

One point we wish to repeat is that Philo is not an isolated example of this method of interpreting the Scriptures. He is only our best known example. How widely spread was the method and how far it was influential are questions we cannot answer but it was there and its tendency was to find the worship of God in moral and spiritual service.

We have now to enquire into Philo's teaching on certain points taken up by Stephen, on the Grace of God, on the place and personality of Moses in the Divine ordering of the world, on the place of ritual in the service of God, on mediation between God and Man.

The/

The Divine Grace. We have seen that for Stephen, God was a God of Grace before all other things. Kennedy (Expositor April 1919 p. 273) says of Philo "Philo reveals his place in the true succession of O.T. piety by the prominence he assigns in the history of the soul's progress to the energies of the Divine Grace." He goes on to give examples from Philo's works. He quotes from Dr. Plant 89) where Philo interprets the phrase "Everlasting God" as "him who does not bestow grace at one time and withhold it at another, but is always and continuously the doer of kindness without interruption.... who omits no opportunity of benefiting, while at the same time he is Lord, with the power to hurt." Philo refers to the Covenants and commenting on Gen. XVII 4 says, "There are many different kinds of Covenant which bestow gracious benefits and gifts on those worthy of them, but I (God) myself am the highest kindI myself am the source and fountain of all experiences of grace (De Mut. Nom, 58 f)." God is wholly good and his object the redemption of His people.

The problem of Divine Grace and human free-will meets Philo as it met Stephen. Philo (De. Migr. Abr. 30f quoted by Kennedy ^{Ap^{il}} 1919 Exp.p²79). says "What good thing then, could be lacking, when God who never fails of achievement is present with the virgin powers of His grace? In that case effort and toil and hard exertion are stilled, and all that can benefit is imparted in abundance... The mind lets go its hold of those energies which are at the command of its designs, and is, as it were, liberated from its purposes, by reason of the gifts rained upon it in unceasing showers." Here, the will of man is captured entirely by the Grace of God. All is God's doing. Philo shows a deep devotional spirit reminding us of the rapture of Paul when he too contemplated the Grace of God. In Quis Rer. Div. H^{ar}es 31 (quoted Kennedy Expositor Hp. 282) Philo exclaims "O thou lover of giving, without/

without stint are the gifts of Thy Grace having no limits or boundaries or end"

All this is the true Hebrew strain in Philo but when we ask 'What is God for Philo? What do we find? This God is the incomprehensible One. *ἡ κατὰ φύσιν* He is Pure Being and as such has no qualities. He is *ἁπλῶς*. He is without any name (*ἄρρητος*). He is *ὅς ἐστι κατὰ τὸ πᾶν* - the One and the All. (Vide Edersheim¹⁴³⁸⁴⁴ and Kennedy). In what he says about the Grace of God he is a Jew, but the atmosphere in which he thinks is that of Greek philosophy. This tinges even his thoughts of the Grace of God while in his mind, though not very well connected with the God of Grace, is the God of Greek philosophic reflection.

The Place and Personality of Moses in the Divine ordering of the World. For Philo Moses is the world's greatest figure and greatest teacher. He is lawgiver and priest, leader and prophet. There was none like him before him nor after him. Stephen too looks upon Moses as God's great man, but for him while he was great in himself part of his place in the Divine ordering of the world was that he prophesied of a greater one who was to come. Still it is here in his understanding of the place and personality of Moses and his description of his life that Stephen seems to have a close affinity with Philo. Stephen calls Moses - a "leader" "judge" "a deliverer;" a great "prophet." For Stephen too the pre-Christian history of Israel has its highest and noblest figure, its hero of all the qualities in Moses. Philo stresses the prophetic nature/

nature of the work of Moses. Philo and Stephen agree on certain details of description which are not in the O.T. narrative. For both Moses is "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Stephen states the fact briefly but Philo enlarges on his education and his capacity to benefit by it. In direct contradiction to the sacred history, Moses is both with Stephen and Philo eloquent, - mighty in word and deed.

On the other hand, Moses for Stephen is never a priest and he does not mention him as a law-giver. He had the *λόγια τῶντα* to give, which the people refused. He makes no explicit reference to the Covenant of Sinai. With respect to the patriarchs Philo sees in them not only history but also types of qualities - they are the embodiments of the *νόμος ἡγάθου* (Ranke). Stephen shows his deep reverence for them. For both Stephen and Philo Joseph is the link in the chain between Abraham and Moses.

Ritual and Cultus. We have already seen Philo's position on this point. They were to be observed although for the initiated they only typified a higher order of worship. For Stephen ritual and cultus were wrong and were essentially false worship.

Mediation between God and Man. For Philo God was transcendental. To come into touch with the world he required intermediate powers (*λόγος* and *δυνάμεις*). These again received their power from the Logos, which was the "effulgence of God" and proceeded from him. For Philo these/

these 'powers' come to the assistance of the Soul in its upward progress. Kennedy (Exp. Ap. 1919 p. 287) quotes Brehier (Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon p. 100) to the effect that in order to understand the real position of the Logos in Philo, we must leave on one side philosophical and cosmological theories and consider God and the Logos as objects of worship. Kennedy agrees and gives as Philo's attitude to the Logos a quotation from the *Guis Rer.* D.H. 205 f ... "Now he is on the one hand, always the suppliant for transient mortals in presence of the Immortal, and the Ambassador of the Ruler to his subject. Then he rejoices because of the privilege and prides himself on it.... being neither uncreated like God nor created like you but standing between the two extremes as a pledge to both"

What was Philo's attitude to the prophets?

For him the Law as contained in the Pentateuch was the will of God. Kennedy quotes Dr. Ryle who finds that Philo has six pages of extracts from the O.T. prophets as against 288 from the Pentateuch. He also quotes Windisch as saying "that Philo was scarcely influenced by the prophets at all," (*Die Frommigkeit Philos* p. 93). He gives his own judgement thus "We are rather inclined to apply to them what Windisch himself says, in the same connexion of the Psalms, that they affected Philo more powerfully than he acknowledges."

The Temple. On this Philo's position is that while the true Temple is in that purest part of creation - the heavens, yet God has appointed one place on earth for sacrifice to be made. He suggests sound reasons for this according/

according to his view, and gives a glowing account of how loyal and faithful the Jews have been to the Temple at Jerusalem.

What conclusion can we draw on the question with which we started viz., Stephen's debt to Philo?

Both regard God as a God of Grace but on this aspect of his thought Philo is showing a Jewish strain in himself. Along with this he has a philosophical view of God which is Greek not Hebrew, the result of reflection and not historical revelation. Stephen on the other hand is Jewish here, firmly fixed in the Jewish faith and Hebrew Scriptures. His God of Grace is the God of Jewish history. His God is dynamic, a power in the world that has shown what He is by His redemptive acts. On the place and personality of Moses Stephen is acquainted with the same legends as Philo knows. For both, Moses is the greatest figure in the O.T. For Philo he is the greatest figure of all time, but for Stephen there is a greater of whom he prophesies. For Philo Moses is lawgiver and priest as well as leader and prophet, but for Stephen Moses is leader and judge and above all prophet, but not priest and not lawgiver. Ritual and cultus were of divine ordination for Philo, and while typifying a higher worship were obligatory. For Stephen they were wrong and heathenish. For Philo God could only approach the world through a mediator and his angels (*ἀγγέλων*). For Stephen God entered all through history, into direct contact with his people through the prophets. For Stephen truth is in the prophets: for Philo it is in the Law. For Philo the Temple is of Divine institution: for Stephen it/

it is anti-Mosaic and not of Divine institution.

Still there are considerations on the other side. Between Stephen and Philo there are resemblances of language (see section on language of Stephen's Speech p. 136) Where there are alternative traditions in Holy Writ, or alternative explanations of a tradition, Stephen and Philo often follow the same tradition or explanation (see notes). They both have the same legends about Moses. But there is more than all this. Stephen looks enquiringly at numbers. He mentions that Moses was three months at home, that he had 3 periods of 40 years each in his life. There are 75 souls in Jacob's family. We know (cf. Beginning of Vita Moysis) that Philo saw a mystic meaning in numbers. Stephen probably does not view them in the same way as Philo but he looks at them enquiringly. They have a meaning. What is it he seems to say? ~~Stephen unravels~~ the history of the Hebrews up to the time of David and Solomon. He, as it were, spaces it out and examines it. The important factor in it he takes to be consecrated personality. He sees in the period from Abraham to David and chiefly in the history of Moses a prophecy of the true type of religion and of the Greater one who is to come. The life of Moses is a type and is prophetic of the life and character, and fate of the Messiah. As he looks, he sees the whole ^{of} history comprehended in certain principles. God's guidance through chosen persons who have words to give the people and the rejection of those persons by the people. A question arises - did his experience of the power of Christ open his eyes and enable him to see the life of Moses as prophetic or was he prepared/

prepared by previous views of Moses as prophetic to find the prophecy fulfilled in Jesus? We cannot say. But even if he had had his eyes opened by his experience of Christianity how did his mind take this way of explaining Jesus, the order and kind of His teaching and His fate?

It is possible that Stephen -

(1) may have understood Jew, Roman and Greek alike to have been comprehended under idolatry. This was not the service of God. That service was spiritual. Here, the legend of the *Λύγιστος* came to his assistance. God spoke to Moses and led him to prophesy of another who should come. This one was to be like himself, a man with living words from God. Stephen may have been looking for such an one. When He did come he was able to see His similarity in all points to Moses. Whatever was in Moses was a type of what came in Christ.

or (2) For Stephen God spoke through living personality. He spoke through Moses. But a Saviour was yet to come. He must be one like to Moses. To find this one's character one had to study Moses. Moses was type, the Coming One would be anti-type.

His pre-Christian views may have prepared Stephen for Christ. On the other hand Christ may have opened his eyes to see Moses as a type of the One who had come. Whichever way we take it, we cannot avoid the fact that he is working with a method that finds in what is given a/
a/

a type of what is to come. In the story of the tabernacle Stephen mentions that the pattern of it is in heaven. He does not follow this out or make it the basis of a wider philosophizing. It is simply fact and history for him. But it is only wilfulness nevertheless that can blind us to the fact that he is working with a method akin to Philo's. Yet it is a method with a difference. Philo is philosophical; for him there is a type and archetype, a fact and the truth it typifies. For Stephen there is type and antitype, a fact or person and a corresponding fact or person. Philo is seeking truth in the soul: Stephen is seeking salvation in *Jesus*. Philo is philosophical: Stephen is historical. God for Philo is an object of thought: God for Stephen is dynamic and active in Revelation.

We conclude then that there are certain links between Philo and Stephen. They know the same language, the same traditions, the same legends. They are using a similar method of interpretation but the orientation of their minds is fundamentally different, and the position ultimately reached vastly different. They probably hailed from the same region. This would sufficiently explain the resemblances between them, but there is little evidence that Stephen was in any way directly indebted to Philo or Philonic thought. It is more likely to be the case that both were indebted to a method of interpretation used and 'in the air' where they lived, a method known as Alexandrian. This explanation would account for another point of affinity. We have already seen that the Logos of Philo is a conception which/

which can only be understood from the point of view of worship. Right worship and false have an important place in Stephen's speech. Both Philo and Stephen are concerned with the way in which man can draw near to God. Philo's approach is philosophical, through the reason, rather than through the Spirit, though not entirely. It is a searching and a finding. In Stephen the approach is through the spirit in man captured by the power of God, acting through His Messiah. God finds man, if man has faith in the Messiah.

CHAPTER/

CHAPTER II.STEPHEN in RELATION to the PROPHETS.

For Stephen, the true channel of revelation was prophecy, for the prophets had the living, revealing word of God. It, therefore, followed, that whatever in life or worship was contrary to that revelation was wrong. It is accordingly from the writings of the prophets that Stephen criticizes both sacrifice and temple.

There are two subjects on which he makes use of the prophets, animal sacrifice and the Temple. Now two questions arise -

- (1) What were the views of Amos and the prophets on the origin of animal sacrifice, and what was their attitude towards the Temple as the House of God?
- (2) The second is "What did Stephen understand their views to be?"

A. Sacrifice* I. The Prophetic View.

- (a) The views of Amos and the prophets generally on the origin of animal sacrifice. Stephen's point is a historical one. Animal sacrifice he says was not Mosaic in origin and therefore was not of Divine origin. He appeals to Amos for proof.

With reference to the wider subject of the attitude of the prophets towards the whole system of the cultus, authorities are very much divided. Some hold that the prophets pronounce an absolute and unqualified denunciation of the cultus as a whole, as the wrong approach to God. Others hold as vigorously that the condemnation is only relative/

relative and in so far as the cultus is accompanied by social injustice and wrong moral practice. Prof. J.E. MacFadyen in his book "The Message of Israel" has a chapter on "Prophet and Priest~~x~~" where he gives in convenient form representative views on either side. He quotes Prof. J.M.P. Smith of Chicago, who maintains that "a religion without ritual would have been practically inconceivable to the Hebrew mind and the prophets never ceased to be Hebrews." On Amos the same author (Prof. Smith) says, "It will hardly do to make Amos discard ritual and put ethics in its place....."

He was not consistently hostile to ritual. It is safer to assume that he is protesting not against ritual per se but against making ritual do service for character and right conduct." Prof. MacFadyen quotes ^{On this side - viz} that the prophetic condemnation of the cultus was only relative ^{Prof. MacFadyen quotes} Prof. T.H. Robinson (Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel p. 190~~8~~; also his statement in 'Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development' p. 201): Prof R.H. Aytoun (God in the O.T. p. 72), ^{and} the Dutch scholar Eerdmans. On the other side ^{viz} that the prophetic condemnation is absolute - he quotes Principal Lofthouse in his 'Altar Cross & Community' as saying "The prophets do not say 'No rite is of any use while the heart is wrong.' They never imply that it will be of any use when the heart is right. What they would have said if they had been discussing pure and untainted sacrifices, we do not know. But the fact that in discussing debased sacrifices they spoke of sacrifice as a whole suggests the answer." On this side are arrayed, Prof. Westphal, Prof. Holscher, Dr. Buchanan Gray and Principal Skinner.

The/

The last mentioned says (Prophecy & Religion p. 181)

"Not only is sacrifice of no avail as a substitute for righteous conduct, but a perfect religious relationship is possible without sacrifice at all.... They never demand a purified ritual, but always and exclusively the fulfilment of the ethical commands of Yahweh."

[i.e. the prophets]

In considering the question we must notice that the difficulty applies only to the pre-Exilic prophets. *a/* Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi have no objection to the cultus. What then are the passages in question? They are: -

AMOS V. 24-25. Let justice roll down like water
And righteousness like a perennial stream.
O House of Israel, was it sacrifice and offering that ye brought unto me forty years in the wilderness?

HOSEA 6⁶ I desire mercy and not sacrifice
And the knowledge of God rather than burnt offering.

Is. 1¹¹⁻¹⁷ Jehovah saith "What care I
For your multiplied sacrifice?
I am sick of burnt offerings of rams
And the fat of fed beasts:
Blood of bullocks, of lambs ~~or~~ of goats,
Is no pleasure to me.
When ye gather to look on my face,
Who hath asked you for these things?
Trample my courts no more
Bring offerings no more.
Vain is the smoke of sacrifice.
To/

To me 'tis abomination
 The new moon and Sabbath,
 The call to Assembly,
 The fast and the festivals
 I cannot endure.
 They weigh me down
 I am tired of the burden.
 When therefore ye spread out your hands
 I will hide from you mine eyes;
 When ye make your many prayers
 I will not listen to you.
 Your hands are full of blood,
 Wash and make you clean,
 Banish out of my sight
 The wicked things that ye do,
 Cease to do evil, learn to do well.
 Let justice be ever your care
 Restrain the man of violence,
 Win for the orphan his rights,
 And defend the cause of the widow."

MICAH 6⁶⁻⁸

Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah
 And bow before the high God?
 Shall I come before Him with burnt offerings
 With calves of a year old?
 Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams,
 Or ten thousands of rivers of oil?
 Shall I give my first-born for my transgression,
 The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?
 He hath shown thee O man, what is good:
 And what doth Jehovah require of thee,
 But to do justly and to love mercy,
 And to walk humbly with thy God?

JEREMIAH/

JEREMIAH 7^{22f}. I spake not unto your fathers, nor
 commanded them in the day that I brought them out
 of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or
 sacrifices: but this thing I commanded them, saying, "Heark-
 -en unto My voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall
 be My people: and walk ye in all the way that I command you,
 that it may be well with you.

JEREMIAH 6¹⁰ Of what avail to Me
 Is the incense that cometh from Sheba,
 And sweet cane from a distant land?
 I accept not ~~your~~ burnt-offerings,
 Your sacrifice pleaseth Me not.

These are the relevant passages on the subject. How far
 do they refer to the desert period and what do they say
 about it?

In AMOS the reference to the period of the wilderness is
 plain and clear. It is also clear that Amos held that
 during that period Israel did not bring sacrifices and
 offering to Yahweh, for the form of the Hebrew sentence
 anticipates the answer 'No' 'Did ye bring'. The
 answer is NO.

In HOSEA 6 is there any reference to this period in the
 wilderness? 6⁵ reads in the Authorized version "There-
 -fore have I hewed them by the prophets: I have slain
 them by the words of my mouth. No satisfactory explana-
 -tion of the verse has been forthcoming. A simple
 emendation has been suggested in the Hebrew text which
 would give the sense "I have carved it on stones and
 taught them by the words of my mouth - that I desire
 mercy and not sacrifice." See McFadyen p. 163. If this
 reading is correct then we have again a reference to
 Moses/

Moses and the meaning is that God's commandment through Moses was that He should have ethical and not sacrificial service. The stones would refer to the Decalogue.

What of MICAH? Does he refer to Moses and the desert

period? In 6⁴ we have the words "I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt and redeemed thee out of the house of bondage and sent before thee Moses, Aaron

m/ and Miriam." It is true that these words are not directly connected with the verses on sacrifice but one cannot help the impression that it is that period that is meant when God showed man what was good, and that was, that God's service should be ethical and not sacrificial.

In JEREMIAH 7^{22f} the reference to the desert period is again clear. Then God gave no command about sacrifice and burnt-offering. He commanded the service of a good life.

Amos, Hosea, Micah and Jeremiah then all have very definite opinions about the desert period. For them it was the period of ideal relationships between God and man and there was no sacrifice. Sacrifice they hold is not of Mosaic origin. There is good reason for the Statement by W.F. Lofthouse 'The People and the Book,' p. 226, "There is more than one single tradition of Moses in the O.T; there are at least five. There is the Moses of the priestly document, the most influential but the least historical of the portraits In E his prophetic character is emphasized.... In J Moses is a national leader. Deuteronomy takes up E and may be said to prepare the way for P. Moses is there the great religious leader, interested in cultus, but also in the whole national/

national life Finally there is the tradition of Moses which seems implied in the prophets. The prophets say very little about Moses but they point back to the sojourn in the wilderness as a time of ideal obedience to Yahweh: and this obedience rests on morality and unwavering trust on the part of Israel, and protection and the demand for Israel's undivided worship in Yahweh himself."

(b) Sacrifice for the prophets was non-Mosaic in origin.

But that does not answer the question of their whole attitude to sacrifice and the cultus. They make no pronouncement as to the origin of sacrifice. They say it was non-Mosaic. But it was there. Did they tolerate it and permit it so long as it was accompanied by social justice and the right ethical spirit? A good case can be made out for this opinion.

The demand of Amos is for judgement and righteousness.

5 21 I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not
Swell, in your solemn assemblies.

5 22 Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat
offerings I will not accept them: neither
will I regard the peace-offerings of your fat
beasts. 23 Take thou away from me the
noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the
melody of thy viols, 24, but let judgement
run down as waters, etc.

For Amos sacrifice may be non-Mosaic. But one might well argue here that he accepts the cultus, so long as it is accompanied with the right spirit. His objection is/

is that it is made to do duty for the ethical service that God commands. In 8⁵ he finds the same spirit of error in connection with the new moons and the Sabbath. "When will the new moon and Sabbath be gone" the merchants say in order that they may continue their evil manner of life. Is Amos finding fault with the festival seasons? The answer surely is No. He is finding fault with the spirit of the profiteers, who, instead of rejoicing in the "holy seasons", when they may seek God and find him, feel them an irksome restraint upon their sin. J.E. McFadyen refers to the passage in 2 Kings 4^{22f} where the Shananite woman whose son had died informs her husband that she is going to consult Elisha. He replies "Why will you go to him today. It is neither new moon nor Sabbath." Prof. McFadyen suggests "that smaller or larger groups may have met for religious stimulus in some simple act of worship over which the prophet presided," meaning that if we knew more about such meetings on the occasions of new-moons and Sabbath we might find certain good reasons that would make it impossible for us to think that Amos could have absolutely condemned them i.e. that he could not have condemned the cultus as a whole.

Hosea says "I desired mercy and not sacrifice" - that is God's will. That seems at first sight explicit enough but on second thoughts we see that it does not preclude the possibility that the sacrifice could be permitted if mercy were present. Mercy was the first consideration but sacrifice was allowed as a means of approach to God.

Micah asks the question "Wherewithal shall I come before Jehovah?" He asks "how am I to approach God." Shall/

"Shall I, in times of crisis, he asks, give my first-born for the sin of my soul?" The answer expected ~~is~~ to the latter question, ^{is} No. He goes on "He hath shown thee what is good..." There is, I think, evidence of a questioning here as to the value of the cultus as a means of approach to God. Micah seems to be thinking out the question aloud. "How am I to approach God? by sacrifice and offering? Shall I offer my child for my sin?" He sees more clearly when he asks this question. This cannot be, and it is of a piece with the animal sacrifice and other offerings. It is all one system. It is a wrong approach. We have been shown the right one, "do justly, love mercy, 'etc.

In Is. 11-17 we have three divisions of the cultus (1) animal sacrifice (2) solemn assembly, (3) prayer. God is made to say "that the smoke of sacrifice is abomination unto Him." Neither can he endure the fast (cf. the LXX version) and festival. When you bring multitudinous prayers I will not listen. Some students think that no prophet could condemn prayer in itself, and therefore there can be no absolute condemnation of the cultus here. It is the "hands full of blood" held up in prayer that he objects to. There is certainly strong condemnation of the cultus apart from righteousness, but there is no clear evidence of absolute condemnation of the cultus as such. There is no reference in the passage to the period in the desert. Strong terms of condemnation are used but not of the cultus in itself; only in so far as it is made a substitute for righteousness. Righteousness is first : the cultus may come after.

What/

What conclusions can be reached up to this point?

So far as Amos, Hosea and Isaiah are concerned there is no theory advanced as to the origin of the cultus. Amos and Hosea say that it is not of Mosaic origin, but of what origin it is they say nothing. They call for the terms of the Mosaic Covenant to be fulfilled, and these terms were, in their understanding, that man should serve God with righteousness. In their view this was the grand command which must be obeyed. This was God's will. Other things might follow in a second place¹⁰⁰, so long as they did not conflict with that will. The cultus was there: it might go on so long as it was accompanied by purity and righteousness, but not for a moment was it to occupy the first or the whole place in any man's view of his service to God. The first signs of questioning are in Micah. He finds that child sacrifice cannot be right, and this is the logical outcome of ideas of sacrificial worship. Therefore the sacrificial system is wrong. Ethical service is the service of God.

What did the Deuteronomic legislation do for sacrifice?²⁰⁰ There were abuses at the high-places in the land where Yahweh was worshipped with Canaanitish rites. The intention of Deuteronomy was to abolish these abuses by concentrating the worship of Yahweh at one central place where it could be supervised. Deuteronomy regulated sacrifice. Jeremiah (see Skinner "Prop. & Religion Ch IX) ^{may} might very well in the interests of true religion, have given the Deuteronomic movement his whole-hearted support. It was only when he saw that Sacerdotal and Scribal influence was emphasizing ritual and enlarging the area held by it that he lost sympathy with the Deuteronomic movement/

300
 movement. Out of the struggles and agonies of his own inner life he found that religion was independent of everything local and material, that it was a spirit and an instinct of the heart, and that the service of God was the service of the spirit. A new covenant God would make with the people when every person would know God in his own heart and be known by Him. Jeremiah as Skinner says (Ch. IX) ^{Chaplain's Religion} "did not try" to explain how sacrifice had so deeply lodged itself into the ^{ceremonial} praxis of the people or to set himself right with popular belief that it was divinely ordained. His conviction of its non-essential character is the outcome of his prophetic knowledge of God and is so strong as to defy all traditional opinion and affirm that it could never have been commanded by the God who revealed Himself through Moses to Israel."

Jeremiah gives no account of the origin of sacrifice, but he was prepared at one time to make terms with it and to have it regularized and permitted in a regularized form. For him as for the earlier prophets the God of Moses and Israel ⁵⁰⁰ was a God who before all things demanded righteousness. As the situation developed, the cleavage between this ethical service and the ritualistic service of the Temple forced itself upon him, and he came to see that true religion had nothing to do with externals, it was a matter of the spirit of the individual.

There had always been this cleavage between the ethical and ritualistic service of God in the minds of the prophets. They had the prophetic tradition that what was demanded by the God of Moses was ethical service. But as Jeremiah at the time of the Deuteronomic ⁶⁰⁰ legislation compromised with a purified ritualistic system, so the earlier/

earlier prophets had been willing to allow it if it did not stand in the way of ethical service to God. Questionings about the validity of the sacrificial system as such are seen in Micah. The conflict comes to a head in Jeremiah. Religion for him has nothing to do with external worship.

J.E. McFadyen suggests that the objection of the prophets was chiefly to the slaughter of animals. It is true that Deuteronomy and Jonah show a wonderful consideration for these, but there is really no evidence that the prophetic objection rested on that. "Ancient worship culminated in animal sacrifice and apart from animal sacrifice religion could not exist..... Morality might be important, and transgression of the Divinely appointed order might be punished with judgement, but the threatened breach could always be healed and the anger of the God appeased by the enhanced zeal in the performance of sacrificial rites." This was the attitude of the ordinary individual to sacrifice. The prophets lived in that atmosphere, although they had the prophetic tradition that the service of God was an ethical one. The two strains - priestly and prophetic - met in D. & P. They also met in the Psalter, and in individuals, such as Ezekiel. We must remember that Isaiah had his vision in the Temple. They were in uneasy companionship in the minds of the prophets until in Jeremiah the priestly was definitely pronounced wrong, and place was found only for the ethical service of Yahweh. When we come to Ezekiel cultus is being re-instated. The later prophets are friendly to the priest though they have the true prophetic voice for righteousness and social justice. But although the cultus returned and in the days of Jesus was strongly embedded in the nation, though it was traced back to Moses who in Exodus was a priest for a week at least, yet the books of the earlier prophets/

prophets were in existence with their very different teaching and despite the prevailing teaching of the time, some independent mind, reading them, might recover their message.

(c) There is one further point to notice. Amos and Jeremiah regard the desert period, as an ideal one, a time of perfect service to God. The first in the prophetic line to take another view of it was Ezekiel. In Ch. 25 of his book he gives us his account of what happened in Egypt where the people were living as idolaters. Yahweh revealed Himself to them and made a Covenant with them, the terms of which were that He was to give them the land of Canaan: they on their part were to put away their idols (25⁵⁻⁷). This they did not do. He gave them the Law in the wilderness but "cf. v16." they despised my judgement.... because their hearts went after idols. They who did so were kept from entering the Promised Land but the Covenant was renewed with the second generation in the wilderness, with the same unhappy result of disobedience. In 25²³ there is a threat of dispersion of the chosen people. Skinner (Ezekiel p. 178) refers this to the Babylonian exile and that this doom is represented as a direct consequence of their transgressions in the wilderness. But there is more to it than that. In vv. 25-26 Ezekiel continues to say that because of their hardness of heart Yahweh gave them laws of an opposite character to those first given, laws which suited their base natures. He is referring to child sacrifice.

III. Stephen's View.

Now that we have enquired what the prophets said about sacrifice in its relation to Moses and their position towards the cultus we must ask what did Stephen say that Amos/

Amos said, i.e. What was Stephen's understanding of the teaching of Amos?

The argument employed by Stephen is this. Moses had "living oracles" to give to the people. They refused them: they fell back on the worship to which they had become accustomed. They made idols and sacrificed to them and rejoiced in the works of their hands. Their God handed them over to a false form of worship, viz., to worship "The Host of Heaven." The Book of Amos is proof of this, says Stephen. There we read "Did you offer to me slain beasts and sacrifices in the wilderness? No: you took up the tabernacle and the star of your god Remphan and I will carry you away beyond Babylon."

What did Amos say in the passage?

"Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel." So far the text is clear and the answer expected is No. Then the text is all confusion (see notes ^{pg. 48-51.}). One thing is clear. The tense of the verb in Hebrew is future. "Ye shall take up and I shall carry you away beyond Damascus." The LXX had an Aorist ἀνέβητε Stephen takes this text and reads "You lifted up idols of star gods, and I shall carry you away beyond Babylon." That Israel worshipped the Host of Heaven in the desert has of course no history behind it. It is merely an inference drawn by Stephen from this text. He also transfers what referred to the time of Amos—for whatever images are meant they belonged to the worship of the time of Amos - to the time of the desert sojourn. Amos in 5²⁵ refers to the preceding verses and concludes them. 5²⁶ refers to idolatry and its results. Stephen/

Stephen unites vv 25 & 26 and intends us to understand that the sacrifices were to these gods of the Heaven. Last of all he places the threat of exile in the desert period.

We have seen that the pre-exilic prophets advance no theory about the origin of sacrifice and the cultus. Amos is complaining about the evil conditions of the life of his time, a time when there was ~~sumptuous~~ ^{abundant} worship. Gross injustice went on, side by side with a rich sacrificial service of Yahweh. That is ~~all~~ ^{not} how it was at the beginning. Then there was no sacrifice but ethical service. Now there is sacrifice and no ethical service. There is idolatry too. The result of such idolatry will be exile. The religion of the time was far away from the simplicity of the time of Moses - that is the complaint and charge of Amos against his time. Sacrifice and idolatry are anti-Mosaic.

Stephen does theorize about the origin of sacrifice. It came from Egypt he says and belongs to pagan idolatry. It is not the service of Jehovah. It is anti-Mosaic. In the desert Jehovah turned from his people and definitely handed them over to perdition - the perdition of false worship. They ~~held~~ ^{held} sacrifice, but it was to the images of the star-gods. "My authority" he says "for the anti-Mosaic nature of sacrifice is Amos. Sacrifice does not belong to the worship of Yahweh. Where can it belong and where did it come from but (from) Egypt? "

Stephen protests that the Mosaic worship of God was to have been a spiritual thing: priest and sacrifice had no place in it. It was strongly held in his time that the/

the Temple Cultus went back in origin to Moses, that it was of Divine ordination and a necessary part of the service of God. Stephen had read the O.T. closely and had discovered the prophetic tradition, that the service of God was not sacrificial. He had read in Jeremiah perhaps that the service of God was of the heart. For Stephen Religion was something for the heart, but it was a power that came from God to the heart and captured it.

One feels that Stephen is more indebted to Ezekiel than he acknowledges, for Ezekiel denies that the period in the desert was a perfect and ideal one. He held it was a time of disobedience and idolatry. Ezekiel too has the strange conception of a first law, given by God for the good of the people and a second given to lead them astray. There is no direct connection between this conception and that of Stephen that when the 'living words' were refused by Israel, God gave the people over to their own devices. Stephen does not quote Ezekiel, but we have in the speech the phrase 'The Glory of God' which suggests Ezekiel's influence. We can understand why Stephen does not quote Ezekiel for Ezekiel was a strong advocate of the cultus, but there is much in Stephen's speech that suggests affinity with points in Ezekiel.

~~II~~ ~~III~~

B.

THE TEMPLE.

I. The Prophetic View.

From criticism of the cultus, Stephen passes to criticism of the Temple. This too he said was anti-Mosaic in origin. The tabernacle was the Mosaic institution, the institution of Divine ordination, whose pattern was/

was in Heaven. This secured victory, he seems to say. With it God drove out the Canaanite, and gave victory to David. David wished to erect a new *בית* for the house of Jacob. This was not so heinous a sin. It was of the nature of the *מִקְדָּשׁ* (tabernacle), but Solomon built a house - a very different thing. It was imagined that this was the Palace of Yahweh, His dwelling place. Isaiah had a more adequate conception of the Majesty of God for he said "Heaven is my throne, earth my footstool What house can you build me?", saith the Lord.

The second Temple occupied the same place in the life and opinion of the people of the time of Jesus, as Solomon's Temple did in the life and opinion of the people of the time of Isaiah and the earlier days of Jeremiah. It was regarded as Yahweh's palace, and there was a superstitious belief that God could not desert it. It was his house and there he was to be found by those who were ceremonially clean.

We have already referred to the views of Isaiah on the inviolability of the Temple. The result of his teaching on the popular mind was that the Jews of his day thought that God would guarantee the safety of His house.

Deuteronomy centralized worship, but there is nothing there to indicate any inviolable connection between Yahweh on the one hand and Jerusalem and its Temple on the other. But the centralization helped to strengthen the idea that God would never fail his own House. It did so by enhancing its prestige.

Jeremiah, as we have seen, out of the conflict of his soul, discovered that religion was independent of things/

things external - of all national and local limitations. Its place was the heart of the individual. He saw that trust in the inviolability of the Temple was vain and the worship of the Temple unspiritual and inadequate as the worship of Yahweh.

What *has my Darling* to do in my house?

Vile are his doings.

Can scraps of fat and sacred flesh

Turn calamity from thee?

Then mightst thou rejoice!

An olive tree, green, resplendent in beauty:

So wert thou called.

With noise of furious storm wind

Its foliage is blasted

Its branches destroyed.

Jeremiah 11^{15f} (LXX text) Translation by Skinner.

"Scraps of fat and sacred flesh" will not save the nation and its Temple. The Temple will be destroyed. And it was destroyed.

Religion was not local. It was spiritual, within the heart of man said Jeremiah. It did not matter what happened to the Temple, religion would endure. Deutero - Isaiah followed with the noblest conception of the Greatness Majesty, and Universality of God in the O.T. His idea of God was sublime. He was Creator of the ends of the earth. His Hand had framed all these things. "What house could hold God?" he asks.

II Stephen's View.

It is with this line of thought that Stephen has affinity. Again he has read the prophets. From Isaiah he makes his quotation. With Jeremiah he believes that God will dwell in the heart, independently of all local conditions. The Temple, he says, was anti-Mosaic in origin, inadequate, as any house must be, to be the dwelling place of Yahweh, that the tabernacle, which was ordained by God, was a symbol of the Presence of Him whose dwelling-place was the whole world.

Additional note STEPHEN'S VIEW OF JESUS AS A PROPHET.

Stephen's view is that God's approach to man has been by the prophets. He spoke to them and they must hear. "The word of the Lord came to me saying," "Oracle of the Lord," - so the prophets express the fact that it is not the result of their own reflection they are giving but that the message they deliver comes from God. God for the prophets was the Living God who spoke to them a living message for their time. It came to them hot and burning and direct. This is the universal prophetic attitude. This is the consciousness of all the prophets.

For Stephen the Living God has continued to speak, with the prophets down through the ages. He has spoken again through the 'burning' oracles of Jesus, the Son of Man. He has revived contact with the world through him. Now has come to pass what God had tried to do in a like form for the people under Moses. But the people refused the gift of Moses for idolatry, they refused the/

the prophet and preferred the priest. They refused the direct message of God, and directed their life by a law they had received and fondly imagined to be of ~~divine~~ ordination which ^{even} it was not.

The Jews down through the ages had ~~repudiated~~ ^{rejected} their prophets and so refused the guidance of God. The guidance of God was not through the priest, and the worship of God was not by the cultus in the Temple, and Amos and Isaiah are quoted to prove it.

PART/

P A R T I I .

PART II.CHAPTER I.JESUS and STEPHEN.

The late Prof. B.W. Bacon in his "Story of Jesus" p. 18, makes a true remark when he says "In point of his-
-torical fact nobody in Jesus' time accused him of attempt-
-ing to found a new religion. Least of all did he^{so} regard
his own work." For Jesus, as for all his contemporaries,
the time in which he lives was the end of the age. History
had developed towards its appointed end, and the time had
come for God to bring in the Kingdom in all its glory and
fullness. It was not the beginning of a new story and a
new religion he was making. It was the fulfilment of
Israel's religion.

With this aspect of the thought of Jesus, Stephen
is in full accord. Stephen did not think that there was
a long future before the world, or that Jesus would be the
centre of a new religion in days stretching infinitely
forward. God had had a purpose with his people and the
world. He had led the world to the fulfilment of that
purpose. He had guided it and developed his purpose through
the prophets; and now that purpose was on the point of
being fulfilled through the last and greatest of the prophets
Jesus. Through him the powers of the Kingdom were already
manifest, and these powers were evidence of the near and
final coming of the Kingdom in all its glory and power.

We have said that for Stephen God was about to bring in his perfect purpose through Jesus. God was already manifesting his power, the power of his Spirit, among men, and Stephen associated this power of the spirit that had come upon the world with the risen Jesus.

In reading the history of the early church, the starting point should be Pentecost. According to our records there was then a great manifestation of the spirit, whether the author of Acts has been successful in describing it exactly as it occurred or not. There was a manifestation of the spirit which, of Acts 2¹⁷, we are told, Peter interpreted as a fulfilment of the prophecy in Joel 2²⁸. "And it shall come to pass afterward that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." This spirit of power enabled these upon whom it descended to accomplish *Τέρα καὶ* wonders. It continued in the early Church. In 1 Cor. 12¹⁰ we read "to another (by the same spirit) comes the working of miracles, to another prophecy, to another discerning of spirits, to another diverse kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues." However the manifestation of the spirit is to be explained, we cannot doubt it as a historical fact. There it was, and it is our starting point for our understanding of early church history. The Kingdom of God was expected to come with power. The Kingdom in its fullness was still in the future. It had yet to come but it had thrown forward, into the time of the Apostles, these evidences of its near presence. It was on the brink, and these powers of the spirit were held to have come through the Risen Christ.

This/

This is not the place to enter into a discussion about the "miracles of Jesus" but we must take as our second historical point the fact that Jesus did do acts of healing, that he did show that he was possessed of abnormal power. He himself considered that this power was evidence that the Kingdom of God ^{had already come.} ~~was at hand~~ (St. Matt. 12 22-28). He associated it with the Kingdom. The spirit of man is always an undefinable quantity, and a mystery. It is not easy to explain the spirit of any person. Any attempt to describe how Jesus came to regard himself as the Messiah can only be conjectural. But Jesus has put on his people the duty of trying to understand Him. He had the prophetic consciousness. His message was from God (to Him). He had also this abnormal power. By reason of his personality, teaching and this power, he impressed the people as being one who was so different from all others that he must be the Messiah, cf. Matt. 12²²⁻²³, "Is not this the son of David?" Was it (through) the consciousness of his possession of these powers, along with his consciousness of a peculiarly intimate knowledge of God, that led Him to the assurance that he was the Messiah? When John sent to ask (cf. Matt. 11³⁻⁴⁻⁵) whether he was the Messiah or not it is to the evidence of the power He was exercising that He pointed. These were the powers of the Kingdom, and they had begun to manifest themselves through Him.

Our first three Evangelists all agree in making the conversation at Caes^aarea Philippi between Jesus and the disciples about His personality a turning point in the history. Peter avowed his belief that Jesus was the Messiah. It is after this point that we get more frequent mention/

mention of the ^{is} Son of Man, and after this point also that we get the prophecy of Jesus as to His suffering. In Mark up to this point there has only been twice mention of this title. Jesus saw that like all prophets he would suffer at Jerusalem. Would that mean defeat of God's purpose? No. The suffering was necessary in the Providence of God. Isaiah had said it was "for many." Jesus had meditated on the subject, and concluded that he would have to suffer as the suffering ^Sservant, but that the power he possessed was the power of the Son of Man spoken of in the Book of Enoch, and that He would return with power as Judge in the Kingdom. This conception of himself as Son of Man he had reached through reflection on his prophetic consciousness, and the extraordinary powers he possessed.

Mr. T.W. Manson in his "The Teaching of Jesus" takes a very different view of the meaning of the title "Son of Man" from that given above. He strips it of all apocalyptic significance and understands it, not in any personal sense, but as another title for the Remnant idea which plays so large a part in the thought of Isaiah. On p. 227, he says "It will be convenient to state at once the theory which will be stated in the following pages. It is that "Son of Man in the Gospels is the final term in a series of conceptions, all of which are found in the C.T. These are the Remnant (Isaiah) the Servant of Jehovah (11 Isaiah), the 'I' of the Psalms and the Son of Man (Daniel). It has been argued above that it is the idea of the Remnant which is the essential feature about each of these, and it is now suggested that Son of Man in the Gospels is another embodiment of the Remnant idea.'

An/

An obvious difficulty in the argument as so stated is that, whatever the exact meaning of the phrase 'Son of Man' is in Daniel, even although there it may mean the ideal Israel and be another form of the Remnant idea, the same phrase occurs in the Book of Enoch, and that its meaning there is more likely to assist us with the meaning as Christ used the title. Is the title as given in Enoch a personal one?

Manson argues that in Enoch while we have several titles all hitherto understood as referring to the Messiah such as "The Righteous One" "The Elect One," we have also reference in the same book to the plural "The Righteous Ones," "The Elect Ones." He goes on to say that it is possible to argue that the singular term is the name for the body indicated by the plural. If the singular "The Righteous One," "The Elect One," can be proved so to stand for the plural, then we have good grounds for understanding the "Son of Man" as standing for 'the ideal Israel, the Servant, the Remnant.'

Manson further adds that whatever be the connotation of the phrase "Son of Man" in Enoch, that may not be its meaning in the Gospels. Jesus was original enough in mind and independent enough in interpretation to give it a meaning of his own. Manson goes on to say that in the event of the meaning in the Gospels being the Remnant or the Servant, in that case when Jesus goes up to Jerusalem for the last time he goes with those who are ready to do likewise, to dedicate ^{Himself} ~~himself~~ entirely and wholly even to death to the service of God. He and those with Him - and together they represent "the Son of Man" - are the/

"the Remnant that saves by service and self-sacrifice, the organ of God's redemptive purpose in the world." (p.231) Towards the end He is forsaken by all. He alone is ready to endure the final sufferings. Therefore then he can legitimately refer to Himself alone as 'The Son of Man.' He dies, is exalted to life again and will return. Meantime the Kingdom of Heaven is open to all believers.

If all this were proved one can see its important bearing on atonement theories. Although the use by Jesus of the "Son of Man" ^{title} ~~phrase~~ does not necessarily depend on its use in the Book of Enoch, yet its use there naturally will have considerable bearing on the subject. It must be left to those who have made a special study of Apocalyptic literature in general and of ^{the Book of} Enoch in particular to decide this particular question. What concerns us here is "How does Stephen regard the Righteous One and what is his view of Jesus?"

In 7⁵² Stephen refers to the Righteous One whom His hearers have slain. Now two things are to be noted about Stephen's understanding of the title -

(1) Stephen certainly understands this as a personal name.

The Righteous One is no representative of a body of pledged followers. Stephen's point is that God from the beginning has been seeking to guide the people through chosen individuals. These individuals were invariably rejected by the people. They stood alone over against the people. Jesus was the last and the greatest in this line of chosen leaders. He met with the same fate as the others and was rejected. His affiliation here is not with the suffering Remnant as a/

a body, but with the individual prophets who did not seek suffering, although they were ready to endure it faithfully. A people erring from the beginning were responsible for the sufferings of Jesus. They crucified Him but God exalted Him. If we are right in accepting the vision and what is said by Stephen about his seeing the Son of Man (τ^56) as authentic then the Son of Man in Stephen's view would be the Son of Man of Enoch understood as a personal Messiah. He was standing at the right hand of God ready evidently to judge the world. Jesus was a leader and Commander like Moses, who had power in Himself and whose words had power. He was rejected, but his light could not be quenched. He was the Son of Man, alive in Heaven, and his power was being made manifest, or rather the power of God was being made manifest through Him in the *τίναν* that his followers were able to do.

- (2) The second point to be noted about Stephen's teaching in this connection is the view he takes of the 'power' of Jesus. Moses was the type of Jesus and Jesus the antitype of Moses. To Moses were given living effective words. We are meant to infer that the "oracles" of Jesus also had this effective power. They were "burning" words. Stephen says nothing about the healing done by Jesus and the miracles he accomplished, though we are told of the signs and wonders that Moses did. We are here reminded of the signs and wonders of Jesus. This Jesus is greater than Moses. He is alive after death, and as Son of Man is ready to come and judge the world. He is greater than Moses/

Moses in that also power is being given through Him by God to enable his followers to do signs and wonders. Stephen lived amidst the manifestation of this power, in fact he was a recipient of it himself. It came to him through Jesus who in his lifetime was after the type of Moses, but who was greater than Moses, who was the Righteous One and Son of Man in the Book of Enoch.

In determining the exact significance of the title "Son of Man" as used by Jesus, a certain amount of weight must be allowed to the testimony of the early church. Stephen certainly understands the title as a personal name and thinks of the Son of Man as an individual and in terms of the conception in Enoch.

III.

JESUS and the LAW.

the attitude of Jesus to the Law?

Before we attempt to answer this question we must say something about the Gospels that give us our knowledge of the teaching of Jesus. We shall confine ourselves to the first three Evangelists, for although it is generally agreed there is much good historical material in St. John, yet John's purpose in writing was a religious and not a historical one. Mark, gives a historical order of events. The Gospel of Mark is agreed to be the earliest of the three writings with which we are concerned. There is further agreement among students that Matthew and Luke had our Mark before them as they wrote, and that they generally follow the order of events he gave. But Matthew and Luke give material that is not found in Mark and often that/

that material is the same. This has led to the theory of another source which contained chiefly sayings and teaching as apart from events. This source from which Matthew and Luke drew the material, common to them both, but not in Mark, is designated Q. But Matthew and Luke had other sources besides Q, known as M. and L. Even in the material common to both these writers there is often a difference in phraseology which can scarcely be explained merely by their differing literary tastes. This has led to a theory of overlapping. Matter often attributed to Q may have been in either of the sources M. or L.

This whole matter of sources is difficult and is still under discussion. The real point of interest for us here is that the material drawn from Q. by Matthew and Luke had already been thrown into documentary form, and may be as early and as authentic as the material in Mark.

Out of these records what do we find Jesus attitude to be towards Jewish, Cultus and Ritual?

UNCLEAN MEATS.

(a) Mc. 7¹⁴⁻²³. Jesus deals with clean and unclean meats.

It is not what a man eats that defiles him but the evil that comes out of his heart that is the cause of impurity. In 7¹⁹ the editor gives his own comment

Kabvpi'swr tidvra ta Bpwnata - purging

all meats. The corresponding passage in Matthew is 15¹⁻²⁰. Here the Marcan editorial comment is omitted.

With reference to the whole passage Branscombe (Jesus and the Jewish Law), says "Matthew does not repeat in the incident of unwashed hands Mark's parenthetical clause, but the omission is not out of disagreement.

Matthew records the incident at full length from his source. He gives Jesus' saying and its exposition, if anything, in more pointed terms. He marks the importance/

importance of the utterances by introducing the report by the disciples that the Pharisees were offended and Jesus' reply "They are blind guides."

On this point then that Jesus in this case taught emancipation from the law of clean and unclean meats, Mark & Matthew from different sources are at one.

THE SABBATH LAW.

Mt. 12¹⁻⁸ - Mc. 2²³⁻²⁸ - Lc. 6¹⁻⁵.

Jesus and his disciples broke the Law by plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath and rubbing them. The Pharisees find fault with Him for doing it and He refers them to what David did when he was hungry, and ate the shewbread, which it was only lawful for priests to eat. Matthew adds from Hosea 6⁶

"If you had known what this is, I desire mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless." Jesus may have quoted this on some occasion but "it is added here to show that Matthew understands the commandments in terms of morality rather than ritual purity." (Branscombe).

Lc. 13¹⁰⁻¹⁶. Jesus heals a woman of her infirmity on the Sabbath day. The ruler of the synagogue is offended. Jesus appeals to general principles of kindness and humanity. 13¹⁴ "Doth not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall and lead him to watering."

JESUS ATTITUDE TO MOSES.

Mc. 10¹⁻¹². Mt. 19¹⁻¹².

The question put to Jesus was "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?" Jesus refers them to the Law of Moses and asks what is said there. Moses allowed/

allowed it, they reply. Jesus answered that this concession by Moses was due to the hardness of their hearts. From the beginning God made male and female and intended no divorce.

Moses for Jesus was authoritative.

St. Matt. 5²¹⁻²⁶ : 5²⁷⁻²⁸ etc - Sermon on the Mount.

IN these passages Jesus claims for Himself the right to give a higher and purer law - a law of the heart which shall exceed the law of the scribes and Pharisees.

From an examination of the passages considered above we draw the following conclusions. Jesus formulated no theory about the Law or about the authority of Scripture. Mercy, loving-kindness, helpfulness, human need, these were the highest considerations and where these conflicted with the Law, the Law must give way to them. The Sabbath Law could not be allowed to stand in their way. He laid emphasis on moral and spiritual purity rather than on ritual (cf. the incident of the unwashed hands). He could say that in one particular at any rate the law of Moses was not the perfect law of God, for divorce was an accommodation to the hardness of men's hearts. In the same incident he shows how he proved his points out of Scripture. But in the Sermon on the Mount we see him improving on the Law of Moses, deepening it and filling it with a more spiritual meaning, placing the Law within the heart and not merely in external acts.

The impression left on us is that Jesus was not subject to Jewish prejudice in minor matters such as unwashed hands and meats, that he put stress upon and held as important, not the ritual, but moral and spiritual service, and that the obedience to God that He required was not one of external acts merely/

merely, but an obedience that issued from a really clean heart. While he did not formulate any theory about the Law or formally abrogate it, He claimed to be able to say that in certain parts it was not perfect, and He himself showed in the Sermon on the Mount how it had to be filled with an inner goodness and purity of intention.

There is one further point on this subject. The idea in Law, in the inculcating of ethical commandments, is that by making a man do right actions you will make him a good man with a good disposition. The means of approach is to the heart through the actions. In Mc. 12²⁸⁻³⁴ - Matt. 22³²⁻⁴⁰ Lc. 10²⁵⁻²⁸, Jesus is asked "What is the first commandment of all?" and replied, "The first commandment is "Hear O Israel, The Lord our God is one Lord and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy love and with all thy mind and with all thy strength." The second is "You shall love your neighbour as yourself. There is not a greater commandment than these." Our duty then for Jesus was comprehended in love to God and love to your neighbour. But we ask, how are we to know how to behave towards our neighbour so as to show our love? Jesus gives another principle "Whatsoever you would that others should do to you do ye also to them." Jesus deals in principles of right conduct, not in details of right conduct or commandments insisting on particular ethical duties. "A good heart" is what Jesus demands, a heart loyal and obedient to God. He works from within outward, cf. Lc. 6⁴⁵ Mt. 12³⁵ (for this whole Section cf. T.W. Manson, "The Teaching of Jesus p. 296-302).

Jesus/

Jesus continued the work of John and preached the coming of the Kingdom. Like John he must prepare a people for its coming. He prepared them for a more inward service than either the law of Moses or the teaching of John demanded, the service of a good heart.

THE TEMPLE. Mark 11¹⁵⁻¹⁹ - Matt. 21¹²⁻¹³ - Lc. 19⁴⁵⁻⁴⁸.

In this incident we have Jesus taking authority to himself to put out of the Temple all those who were making it a place of business in connection with the sale of animals for sacrifice. God's house must be a house of prayer, cf. Is. 56⁷. Jesus says nothing about the other parts of the worship. God's house must be at any rate a house of prayer and not a place of business.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE TEMPLE. Mc. 13² - Matt. 24¹⁻².

Lc. 21⁵⁻⁷. "Days are coming" says Jesus in these sections "when the Temple shall be destroyed." His meaning is eschatological. The Temple will fall when the last things come.

Mc. 14⁵⁵⁻⁶⁵ Mt. 26⁵⁰⁻⁶⁸ Lc. 22⁶³⁻⁷¹.

In these sections describing the trial of Jesus, Mark and Matthew agree about the saying of the false witnesses, that they had heard Jesus say that he could destroy the Temple and raise it up in 3 days. Lc. does not have this saying about the Temple. It is impossible to make much of this.

All that we have, then, of the utterances of Jesus contain only an eschatological reference to the fate of the Temple in the last days. Mc. 14⁵⁵⁻⁶⁵ and the corresponding passage in Matthew is probably a ~~parallel~~ form of some similar eschatological prediction Jesus/

Jesus made no explicit statement against Temple or sacrifice. The Temple must be a house of prayer, he says and not of merchandise. But he does not say it shall not be a place of sacrifice. A large part of the ministry of Jesus was spent apart from the Temple. On the other hand He attended the great festivals at Jerusalem. Yet we get the impression that his interest was in a people prepared in heart for God. The days were passing and the final stage was drawing near when the Temple and its services would be no more. What would remain would be the people who were spiritually prepared for the Coming of the Kingdom. Stephen was more radical than this. The Temple and sacrifice he did not accept, he condemned both. Neither of them were Mosaic nor of Divine ordination. Sacrifice was no true worship. There was something more perfect than the Law, that Moses had wished to give the people - "living words." These the people ^{had} refused. Now "living words" had come through Jesus Christ. These "living words" were words that were effective in the heart. They were powerful to hold the heart. It was an inner moral and spiritual service through Jesus that Stephen had in mind.

Stephen's Speech is apologetic. There is the heat and passion of debate in it, We miss in it the restfulness of the sayings and personality of Jesus. But there is a fine feeling of tenderness running through what Stephen says. He glows at the thought of the Grace of God, his heart is melted and his feelings stirred at the rejection and suffering of Moses, at the rejection and suffering of Christ. He is moved for them and angry at the people because of their/

their hardness of heart and stupidity. Jesus for Stephen is neither priest nor ~~kingly~~ Son of David: he is a prophet with the living word, seeking to make God's people prophets and link them to God. The service of God is a service of the heart, not one of Temple and sacrifice. This interpretation of the outlook of Jesus is not so far out. Service of the heart is the teaching of both. But Stephen makes a special point of the "change of customs" and the "destruction" of Temple and cultus that follow on the teaching of Jesus. The religion of Jesus for Stephen consisted in faith in God and ethical service. In it the approach to God was through Jesus, not through sacrifice and offering. The day of the Temple was over.

CHAPTER/

CHAPTER II.THE PLACE of STEPHEN in the EARLY CHURCH.

In Acts 8¹ we are told that there was a great persecution of the Church and that there was a dispersion of all the disciples except the Apostles. Now this persecution is a very likely thing. The rage of the opposition against Stephen was extended to all who were associated with the Church. But why did the Apostles remain or why were they allowed to remain? Was it great courage on the part of the Apostles? But would even courage have availed them before this general persecution if there had not been some other reason for the tolerance of the mob towards them? This leads us to ask 'Was there any marked difference between the Apostles and the followers of Stephen, that the opponents of Stephen could differentiate between him and them? Was the attitude of the Apostles towards Judaism so different from that of Stephen, that those who hated Stephen and his followers could tolerate the Apostles and allow them to remain in Jerusalem.' What does the evidence say? We have to notice that 8¹⁴ says "the Apostles who were at Jerusalem." Now if in 8¹ we were told that all the disciples were scattered abroad and no exception made of the Apostles we would ask at 8¹⁴ how the Apostles got to Jerusalem. We could only conjecture that they had returned to the centre of operations. There would really be no great difficulty in this. Our author tells us that the reason for their being at Jerusalem in 8¹⁴ was that they had never left it. There is a difficulty here and we can only ask whether there was anything in their known attitude/

attitude to Judaism that would lead them to be passed over in the persecution.

The Jewish authorities had repeatedly taken action against the Christians, cf. Acts 4³ 5¹⁸ 5⁴⁰. The Christians had been beaten and imprisoned. Peter had pointedly told the people their fault in that (cf. 3¹⁴) "they had denied the Holy One and the Just and desired a murderer to be granted" unto them. He had charged the rulers of the Jews with (cf. 4¹¹) rejecting the "stone which is become the head of the corner." In 4¹⁸ Peter and John had made it clear that their obedience was to Christ, no matter what the authorities might command them to do. He, not they, was their Master. If their commands conflict with the obedience that was due to Christ, then Christ must be obeyed and the rulers disobeyed. For all their fearlessness of word and conduct neither they nor Christianity were crushed. Why? Why did the rulers not kill and crush the movement? Acts 24⁷ 3⁹ 5¹³ give us the reason, viz., that it had the support of the people. Gamaliel had advised the Sanhedrin to be tolerant to the movement. If it was of God, it would prosper, he said; if it was not of God, it would die: they should leave it alone. In all this then we have the Apostles perfectly fearless in their allegiance to Jesus and supported by the people, and Gamaliel's attitude in the Sanhedrin also helped to get them tolerance. But there are other considerations to be taken into account. Was their attitude to Judaism such as to give the authorities great cause for alarm? The Apostles (cf. 24⁶) "continue daily with one accord in the Temple:" cf. 3¹ they go up to the Temple at the hour of prayer. They speak to the people in the Temple porch under the eye of the Temple authorities/

authorities, and they are allowed to do so. In Acts 3¹⁷ we find that the Apostles attribute the action of the Jewish authorities at the Crucifixion to 'ignorance.' In 3²⁵ Peter adopts a conciliatory attitude towards those whom he has accused of being responsible for the Crucifixion. "Jesus was foretold by the prophets" he says. "Ye are the sons of the Prophets and of the Covenant which God made with our fathers." It was to them God had sent Jesus (3²⁶) to give them repentance and to turn them from their sins. There were, we know, two parties in the Church, the Hebraist and the Hellenist. We have seen reason to believe that the Hellenists were they who ~~sat loose to~~ ^{neglected the practices of.} the Law. Without doubt Stephen was a Hellenist. The Hebraists were those who adhered to the Law. Both agreed in acknowledging Jesus as Lord. Now the attitude of the Apostles as given above shows no violent break with Judaism. Christianity like theirs could be regarded as a sect within Judaism. Judaism was the field to which Jesus had been sent. It was ignorance and nothing worse than that that made the Jews reject him. The attitude of Stephen to the authorities and to Judaism is radically different. The Temple and its services ^{are} all wrong. The sin of the people at the Crucifixion was not ignorance but wilful blindness and hardness of heart. Both characteristics had marked their whole history. They had always rejected God's prophets. They were not for Stephen the sons of the prophets. There was no conciliatory attitude in Stephen towards Judaism. For him Judaism had been on the wrong lines since the days of Moses. Jesus had come to abolish it, to "change" and to "destroy." Stephen emphasized the revolutionary character of Christianity. This was not a movement within Judaism. As Stephen understood it/

it, it was a movement against Judaism. Now we can understand why the adherents of Stephenism were dispersed. The *ἡellenισται* will refer to the great body of *Christian.* - Hellenists. We see reason for the Apostles being allowed to stay, but the Hellenists must be crushed.

One question remains

*Who were the *ἡellenισται* who carried Stephen to burial? The impression we receive from the narrative is that they were not Christians, i.e. they were not of the Hebraist and Apostolic party who had been allowed to remain behind. There were no Hellenists left in Jerusalem. They could only then be devout and kindly Jews who, though not Christian, were moved by the death of Stephen.

PART/

P A R T I I I .

PART III.CHAPTER I.STEPHEN and PAUL.

We have already remarked on the double reference to the stoning of Stephen in Acts 7⁵⁸ and 7⁵⁹. One must confess that the repetition is awkward and one cannot avoid the impression that here we have the joining of two sources. In 7⁵⁸ the mob has started the stoning. In 7⁵⁹ we are really given another version of how the stoning started. In 7⁵⁸ we have mention made of Saul. The story is now going on to recount Saul's history. We have evidently in 7⁵⁹ the beginning of a Pauline source. The question then arises which account of the stoning is the true one. Was ~~the stoning~~ ^{it} started by the mob or the witnesses? Nothing could be more natural than that the infuriated mob should break through the usual procedure, take the situation into its own hands and stone 'the blasphemer.' The story as we have it rings true. On the other hand in Acts 8¹ we are told Saul was consenting unto his (Stephen's) death. In Acts 26¹⁰ Paul says "When they (the saints) were put to death I gave my voice against them." Now Paul was not a member of the Sanhedrin. What can he mean by "giving his voice against them?" We might get some assistance in solving the difficulty if we had some knowledge of the procedure followed in cases of stoning to death. F.C. Conybeare (in the Expositor 1913) gives/

gives the procedure from the Talmudic Codex Sanhedrin

(Johannes Coch. Amsterdam 1629). There we read [ch. VI §1.

Si hoc modo (in the way previously described) *innocentia eius probetur, liberum dimittunt: Sin minus, prodit lapidandus, antecessore praecone atque in hac verba exclamante 'Viri iste, N.N. filius N.N., prodit lapidandus ob culpam hanc (nam illa quoque aprimitur) Suntque eius facti testes N.N. et N.N.'*

words/

(If in this way his innocence is proved, they set him free: but if not, he goes out to be stoned. A herald precedes him who shouts this form of verbs. This man here *N.N.* son of *N.N.* comes forth to be stoned for this crime - the crime is also stated - and the witnesses to his crime are *N.N. & N.N.*).

Again at §3 we find "Quando a loco lapidationis abest quattuor cubita vestis ei detrahuntur.

(When they are 4 cubits from the place of stoning they strip off his clothes (i.e. the accused man's clothes). They leave him a loin cloth).

§4. *Testium alter inde* (i.e. from the place of stoning) *seum detrahebat, ut in lumbos caderet. Si conversus in pectus foret, in lumbos convertebatur. Hoc casu mortuus si esset, satisfactum legi: Sin: alter lapidem sublatum in pectus immittebat. Si hoc ictu moriretur satisfactum: Sin, a toto Israele lapidibus caedebatur.*

(One/

(One of the witnesses pushed the accused from the place of stoning so that he fell on his back. If he has turned over on his breast, he was turned round on to his back. If by this fall he died, the law ^{was} is satisfied. But if not the other witness ^{and} lifts a stone and ^{and} hurls it on his breast. If he dies under this blow, the law ^{was} is satisfied. If not, he was killed with stones (flung) by all the people^{Israel}).

This ^{was} is the regular procedure. Conybeare holds that in the case of Stephen, the witnesses stripped him and laid his clothes (7⁵⁸ $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omega\sigma$ he thinks a scribal error for $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omega\delta$) at Paul's feet who was discharging the duties of herald: that the words "was consenting unto his death" 8¹ refer to Paul's recital in his capacity of herald of the Sanhedrin's sentence "This man, Stephen, son of A. N., cometh forth to be stoned." Conybeare asks us here to notice Acts 26¹⁰ where Paul says he gave his vote against the saints. He holds that as Paul was not a member of the Sanhedrin he could not vote against them but the phrase might very well refer to his recital of the sentences given by the council. He adds that in Acts 7⁶⁰ $\epsilon\upsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \gamma\omicron\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ no doubt denote the attitude normally assumed in prayer but it was at the same time very nearly the attitude that the victim was by the witnesses forced to assume." Conybeare thinks that Paul must have taken an active part in the proceedings, nor will he allow that Stephen was not formally condemned by the Sanhedrin. "The Sanhedrin passed sentence in an access of far from judicial fury and then flocked out along with the condemned man to witness his execution. If Stephen survived the first attention of the witnesses transformed into executioners, then the elders must have intervened as/

"as all Israel (toto Israele) and have finished their victim off: and perhaps that is what the authority of Acts wishes us to gather from his highly compressed and terse narrative."

Can the awkwardness in the narrative be explained in this way?² viz. -

The first source was interested in Stephen and not at all in Paul. It is concerned not with the details of procedure, but with the fury of the Sanhedrin, and the people, who had to complete the execution. The second source was interested in Paul. It gives Paul's connection with the trial in a subdued and repentant fashion, and states in semi-technical phrase that he was officially engaged at the trial and execution. In this way, because our two sources are thinking of the incident from two different points of interest, both may be true. Paul was "consenting" and the execution was finished by the Sanhedrin and the people who were mad with fury against Stephen. However we explain the awkward joining, it is evident that there is joining of two documents here. But that Paul was present at the trial and death is the statement of Acts. We shall have additional evidence for the statement, if we can find any evidence in Paul's works of the effects of Stephen's trial upon him. Is there such evidence. We believe there is. This brings us to our second point.

2.

STEPHENISM in PAUL'S WRITINGS.

We turn to the Epistle to the Galatians. Here, St. Paul is stating the position of the Law. How does his argument go? He begins with Abraham. The Law was non-existent in/

in his day. To Abraham God gave a Promise "that in him would all nations be blessed." It was not a Law that Abraham received but a Promise, and what was required by God of Abraham was not observance of a law but faith in His Promise. There was no contractual idea of a Covenant in the relationship. The relationship was more of an ethical and spiritual nature. Abraham trusted in God. St. Paul now says that a man's will or testament must stand. It is not allowed that another should say it is of no effect or should seek to add to it or subtract from it. God's will or covenant was that the inheritance should be won by faith. That must stand. Now the Law came 430 years after the Promise. But that is an addition to the will and contrary to its spirit. It cannot annul the will which was the Promise through faith.

What is the position of the Law then? Where did it come from? It could not come from God for faith and Law are not of the same order and kind.

God's will was that the inheritance should be by faith not that it should be 'earned' by the works of the Law. Paul says it was a parenthesis - an addition - in order that the consciousness of sin might be deepened, and the way prepared for Christ, the Son of Abraham, who would enter on the inheritance, and with Him all who had faith in Him. That is all that he can say about its purpose at the present time. It may be a parenthesis or an addition but it was not the perfect will of God, which was that delivered to Abraham. That was unaffected by anything that came later. That stands. Paul is not satisfied with his explanation of the law as an addition to increase the consciousness of sin and to multiply transgression, but it is/

is the best he can do at the time. It was not the first and perfect will of God. And it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator. (διαταγὴς δι' ἁγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ ^{μεσίτου}). We shall have to discuss

this expression later. Meantime we observe that Paul is dissatisfied with the Law because it is mediated and ~~it~~ is not directly given: it is ordained by angels. The Promise was given to Abraham directly by the living word; there was no mediator. The Law on the other hand was mediated and ordained through angels.

Law and Promise - is the Law against the Promise - or what is their relationship? The Law could not give 'life! That is its weakness and condemnation. St. Paul multiplies terms to explain the law. We were "shut up" under it till faith should be born. It was our ^{παιδαγωγία} to look after us as children require someone to take them to school and generally look after them until they reach the freedom of maturity. Maturity in this case is the stage of having faith in Christ. When we have that, then we are of the seed of Abraham and heirs of the Promise.

St. Paul continues the subject. An heir, so long as he is a minor, is subject to discipline. So those to whom he is writing were, although heirs to the Promise, in bondage under the elements of the world (τὰ στοιχεῖα This - τὰ στοιχεῖα.. - is a phrase that will also call for special consideration later. But (cf. Gal. 4⁴) "When the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons: and because ^{ye} we are sons God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into ^{our} hearts - crying Abba, Father." Jesus has given Life. This is an experiential term that we need not try to define. It includes the/

the power of accomplishing what is right, with joy and enthusiasm in living. This life comes through Christ: it is direct and immediate in the heart: it is a life in God. It is such a living consciousness of sonship with God that it expresses itself, and must express itself in words, calling God, Father - Abba, Father. It has nothing to do with Law and the Law cannot produce it. It is of a different order from Law, it comes through faith. This faith links itself back not with the Law but with the faith of Abraham. All that falls in between the first period of faith and that period now begun - was outside the God-appointed method of communication between God and man. God's method was and is direct and intimate: the method of Law is indirect and the law a secondary thing.

Put all this alongside of what we find in Stephen. In Stephen's exposition of God's appointed method of communicating his will to men we find the same thought, that God's method was direct and intimate, given directly to the soul of Abraham, to the patriarchs, to the prophets and to Jesus. There was living communication and a living message. There was no mediator and nothing of a derivative secondary character could have the living voice of God in it. Judaism with its idea of the Law was wrong.

Paul found 'life' in Jesus. Stephen's speech turns on this conception. God had living contact with his chosen agents, He gave "living oracles" which the people rejected. But God's plan is not defeated. He gives them again in Jesus. Stephen had found this 'life' through Jesus and His word.

The/

The very language of Galatians suggests dependence on Stephen. There is no direct reference to Moses in Galatians. The prophecy of Moses that there would arise a prophet like himself is not referred to. But can we read the words already quoted from Gal. 4⁴⁻⁶ ("when the fullness of the time was come ...") and not think of Moses, sent to the people when the time had come, who was born under bondage, to redeem them that were under bondage, that they might receive the freedom of the people of God. And here in Galatians just at this point we have reference to the living spirit within the heart that rises to express itself and cries "Abba, Father." Did Paul interpret this as a "living oracle," a word from God in the heart?

When we add to all this the reference to the Law as given by angels, are we not justified in holding that Galatians echoes in word and thought the speech of Stephen, that Paul must have heard it and been present at the trial? This will become clearer when we consider more fully certain points that merit further attention.

3.

We have said that in his reference to the Law as given by angels, by the hand of a mediator (Gal. 3^{19,20}) Paul means to condemn the Law because it is secondary, and not given directly by God. He condemns it also because it is at two removes from God. It is appointed by angels and then given by a mediator. Dr. W.K. Lowther Clarke (New Testament Problems p. 153-156) has an interesting note on the two verses concerned. He says that St. Paul heard the words "ordinances of angels" uttered by Stephen and there the concluding words of the speech may well have lodged in/

in his mind and borne fruit in later years. We may imagine him during the years when he was thinking out his Gospel brooding over the mystery of the law, good and holy and yet such an obstacle in the way of the acceptance of the Gospel by the Gentiles. At last he gets a clue. The Law is secondary. Spirits interested in human affairs have intervened and dictated all these ordinances God has allowed their intervention only."

Dr. Clarke asks the question 'In what sense was Moses a mediator when he received the Law and Abraham not one when he received the Promise?' He replies "Moses, I would answer, was a mediator between a host of angels on the one hand and the nation of Israel on the other. God spoke to Abraham directly and the patriarch was at that time the entire nation." He thinks Mediator must refer to Moses in the light of the Assumption of Moses 1¹⁴ (And so he planned and ordained me who before of old was prepared to be the mediator of His Covenant). If it were not for this Dr. Clarke would suggest that the mediator is the single angel of Acts 7³⁸.

St. John Thackeray (St. Paul and Contemporary Jewish Thought) also refers to the point in an interesting manner. "The Angels" (Deut 33²) who were present at Sinai were, he says, "transformed from passive agents to active givers of the Law. But to the Jew their presence always added lustre to the Law cf. Acts 7⁵³. St. Paul on the contrary, uses the tradition as a point of attack to depreciate the Law. "It was not given," he says, "as you admit, directly by God, but was transmitted through angels: you cannot therefore be sure that you have in it the direct unadulterated expression of God's will as you may be when God delivers a Promise in his own person." Thackeray says that in the term/

term Mediator, St. Paul is using a common title for Moses, and compares, Assumption of Moses 1¹⁴, Philo Vita Moysis 31⁹ *ὁ μεσίτης καὶ διδάσκατος*. and points out that it is implied in Hebrews 8⁶.

This is quite right except that we must be careful with the reference to Acts 7⁵³. Certainly there Stephen is referring to Jewish pride in the law - it was ordained of angels, but Stephen himself does not say it was ordained of angels. He means it was not ordained of God. It certainly for him did not contain "the direct unadulterated expression of God's will." That was got through Abraham and the prophets. St. Paul is not original here. He is drawing on the inspiration he received from the Speech of Stephen.

THE COVENANT OF CIRCUMCISION.

In Acts 7⁸ it is obvious that Stephen is not enthusiastic about the Covenant of Circumcision. He mentions it, but it is a curt reference. The emphasis is placed on God's Grace in giving the Covenant, and the Covenant itself, is made to appear simply as a seal to the Promise. The Promise and God's grace in giving it are the important things.

In Rs. 4 we have St. Paul's attitude on this Covenant. In 4¹¹ he says that Abraham "received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised that he might be the father of all them that believe," i.e. whether Jew or Gentile. In 4¹⁶ we are told that the Promise is of faith that it might be of Grace. 4²⁰⁻²² tells us that Abraham staggered not at the Promise but believed, and his faith was reckoned to him as righteousness.

Now/

Now the prevailing idea of the Covenant-relationship at the time was the Pharisaic one, that a Covenant was of the nature of a contract between parties. God had his part to fulfil on condition that man fulfilled his share of the bargain: if man fulfilled his part, God could not refuse to implement his promise.

The institution of this Covenant is recorded in Genesis 17¹⁻¹⁴. There Promises are given to Abraham and God establishes this covenant with him. Gen 17¹⁰ says "This is my covenant which ye shall keep between me and you... Every man-child among you shall be circumcised." In this record, circumcision is man's part of the alliance. It was an integral part of the alliance, the part assigned to man by God. There was some reason for the attitude that if man kept this rite of circumcision, God's Promises were assured. But it is remarkable how Stephen and Paul both emphasize God's Grace in giving the Covenant, how they both agree that the important transaction was the Promise given immediately before the Covenant: they both agree that the Covenant is but a seal of the Promise and the Faith that went before it. It must be noted that both are placing stress on the spiritual and ethical side of the religious life as opposed to the external side. Where did Paul the Pharisee learn to look at the Covenant Conception in this way? There can be little doubt he got it from Stephen who again in his turn was in all probability indebted for his outlook to his Hellenistic associations. Here we see Hellenism interpreted by brilliant and deeply spiritual minds, pressing forward through Christianity to give chief place/

place in the worship and service of God to ethical and spiritual considerations and putting behind it the legalistic view of religion.

ST. PAUL and his DIFFERENT VIEWS
on the LAW.

We start from his position in Gal. 3²¹ where he states that the Law cannot give 'life.' Why was it given or allowed? It was added because of transgression, i.e. to intensify man's sense of sin, to multiply works of transgression and prepare him for something better that would give 'life.' In Gal. 3²⁵ the Law is a παιδαγωγός. In 3²² we are told the Law συνέκλεισεν (ἢ γκαφῇ) τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν. What is the exact signification of these expressions. According to St. John Thackeray (St. Paul.... ad.loc), in Gal. 3²² we have "the idea that the Jews previous to Christ were kept under strict supervision and prevented from escaping to seek any other method of salvation than faith in Christ." He holds that the 'schoolmaster' metaphor continues the same idea of restraint. A παιδαγωγός was an attendant on a young person. According to Thackeray we cannot understand here that the Law was given to preside over and take care of the morals of the Jews. It was a restraint, a confinement.

In an interesting article on "Philo's Relation to the O.T." (Expositor Febr. 1919p. 152) Dr. H.A.A. Kennedy refers in brief compass to the development of St. Paul's thought/

thought on the subject of the Law. He refers to the position in the Galatians which has been mentioned already - that sin was added to multiply transgression. This position we find repeated in Rs. 7¹³ and Rs. 5²⁰. But to St. Paul with his training as a Pharisee it was a difficult matter to think anything but good of the Law. Deep in his nature there was a reverence for it which had been instilled in him by early surroundings and by training, from which he could not escape. "The Law" (cf. Rs. 7¹²) "is holy and the commandment is holy and just and good." Further meditation on the problem of sin and the Law led him to a new theory. The Law was good but (cf. Rs. 8³, "What the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh"...) it was defeated by sin which had its seat in the *flesh*. But, as Kennedy points out, this would not suffice as a permanent position. God, according to this theory, was defeated by sin. He falls back on a position that he had suggested in Galatians, cf. Gal. 4⁸⁻¹⁰, "When ye knew not God, ye did service to them which by nature are no gods. But now, after that ye have known God or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements whereunto ye desire to be in bondage. Ye observe days and months, and times and years." The phrase, "or rather are known of God," is important and will be discussed later. Here we notice that it means that God had gripped them and given them 'life.' But our point with the quotation at present is that Paul identifies Judaistic legalism with *pagan* worship. In Colossians, one of his latest Epistles, he falls back on this position when he finds the position of Rs. 8³ untenable, cf. Colos. 2¹⁴⁻²³ where Jewish ordinances are identified with the "worship of the principalities and powers of the world." The Galatians had fallen back on Judaism/

Judaism. Paul at that time said that Judaism was identical with pagan worship. He further examined his views in Rs. 8³ and came to another conclusion about Judaism and the Law, that the Law was good, but sin defeated it. God's method then was defeated, a conclusion which Paul could not accept. He gives it up as it were and falls back on his first radical and revolutionary position that Judaism is identical with pagan worship (Col. 2¹⁴⁻²³.) We cannot but feel that Paul must have made a distinction in his mind between the two. He must have spent some time in reflection to come to this position. But we must notice that it was a position he had held at the beginning. How do we explain this? This identification of Judaism with pagan ritual was evidently a borrowed idea, for St. Paul did not feel comfortable in it. Stephen had said that the Jewish sacrificial system was simply paganism. For him the whole world was comprehended under idolatry, the Jews included. Surely it was this idea of Stephen - an idolatrous world as against the world of personal and living contact between God and Man - that had taken hold of his mind. In it he at last found his final position.

This brings us to consider the meaning of the expression τὰ στοιχεῖα. cf. Gal. 4⁹. Colos. 2²⁰.
Gal. 4³ αὐτὰ τοῦ κόσμου cf. Col. 2⁸.

Does it mean an 'elementary stage in knowledge' or does it refer to the heavenly bodies or ^{to} the powers that were supposed to rule in them and from them?

Thackeray/

Thackeray (St. Paul ~~etc.~~) says -
ad loc.

- (1) That it is an elementary stage in knowledge, is followed by Lightfoot and the majority of the English commentators.
- (2) That the planets are meant - is held by many of the Fathers.
- (3) That the powers who have their seat in the heavenly ^{are meant} bodies_^ - is supported almost unanimously by recent German commentators.

Thackeray (ad loc) contends for the metaphorical sense i.e. (1) above. There are those who argue that from the linguistic standpoint τὰ στοιχεῖα without any further definition of meaning would have meant to the ordinary reader 'the elements of the Universe' or the 'Heavenly bodies'. They hold that the metaphorical sense requires an explanatory Genitive, e.g. τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς οὐρανόθεν τοῦ κόσμου cf. Hebr. 5¹² τὰ στοιχ' τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων etc. etc. To this argument Thackeray replies that it is in no way convincing for the word στοιχεῖα he holds in its metaphorical sense carries with it the idea of instruction or knowledge, and St. Paul is clearly concerned with no other than the religious instruction of the world. He concludes that "the beginnings of religious knowledge in the pre-Christian world is a sense that without straining may be covered by the word." Thackeray allows that the Biblical use of the term favours the material sense.

It occurs 3 times in LXX (twice in Book of Wisdom of the 'Elements of the Universe' - earth, air, fire, water - 7¹⁷ 19¹⁸, cf. also Wisdom 13²⁻³ where it is stated that the heathen regard these elements as the gods who rule the world: the third LXX reference is 4 Macc. 12¹³ where/

where it is used of the constituent elements of the body).

In M.T. Metaphorical sense in Hebrews 5¹². The only other passage is 2 Peter 3¹⁰⁻¹² (στοιχεῖα τῆς κοσμοκράτους δουλεύεται καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα τρεφόμενοι and again in v.12. Here it means 'heavenly bodies.'

τῶν κόσμων does not occur in these quotations. If the material sense is the right one, nothing would be gained by the addition. But if the material sense is the right one why should τὰ στοιχεῖα not stand without any question for the heavenly bodies and when the gods of these bodies are meant why don't we have of ἀγγέλων τῶν κόσμων ? So asks Thackeray.

Thackeray seeks to refute another argument which contends for the material sense. This argument holds that in Gal. 4⁹ Col. 2¹⁶ there is mention of the seasons and these are ruled by the heavenly bodies. Thackeray answers that in Gal. and Col. there is reference to more than seasons; meat and drink are mentioned ^(in Col). He holds that in Gal. & Col. it is clear that subservience to ceremonial ordinances is meant.

Thackeray meets an argument drawn from Gal. 4⁸⁻⁹. It is contended that there the στοιχεῖα must correspond to the ἐπιτελείας and οἰκονόμους under whom the minor is placed. Therefore, the argument proceeds, in this passage we must have the personal sense - the gods of the planets. Thackeray holds that there is no need to make/

make both sides in the comparison personal.

Similar to this is the argument that the *στοιχεῖα* are equivalent to *τοῖς ἐχούσι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θς* (Gal. 4⁸)

But Thackeray holds it may be the similarity of the worship that is meant.

Thackeray allows that there was wide-spread belief that the heavenly bodies and all natural objects had their peculiar angel. He allows that from Wisdom 13² the heathen might be regarded as under bondage to the angels. He allows also that this might be said of the Jews. He says that it is natural that St. Paul should show some signs of this and asks whether in 1 Cor. 15⁴⁰ there are traces that St. Paul shared the belief that the stars are *animate* beings. But he holds there are insufficient grounds for believing that *τὰ στοιχεῖα* has any such personal sense. (For this whole discussion see Thackeray St. Paul pp. 163-170).

Dr. A.E. J. Rawlinson on the other hand in his New Testament Doctrine of the Christ, p. 148 footnote on Gal. 4⁹ assumes the identity of the *στοιχεῖα* with the *ἔχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* of 1 Cor. 2⁶. He holds further that in Gal. 4⁹ the angels of the Law are to all intents and purposes equal to the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ νόμου*; presumably he says, the Law, being a temporary discipline for Israel preparatory to the coming of Jesus, belongs to this 'Age' which is under the *στοιχεῖα*. But we ask 'Does this not beg the question? Is the Law regarded as a temporary discipline?'

(De Witt Burton (Epistle to the Galatians - Internat. Comm) pp. 510-518,

makes an exhaustive examination of all the material for forming an opinion and gives the different views held on the subject. His conclusion (p. 518 section 10) is 'Aside from the debateable question of the meaning of *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ νόμου* it/

it is entirely clear that the things which St. Paul was dissuading the Galatians from accepting were, in fact, requirements of the Law, as those from which he dissuaded the Colossians were dogmas of religion urged in the name of Judaism or some system of kindred spirit. To find the ground of the description of obedience to them as a bondage to *τα στοιχία τῶν κοσμοῦ* in a remote and unsuggested connection between them and the heavenly bodies, or the physical elements of the Universe, or the spirits of these elements, when the phrase is directly applicable to them in a sense appropriate to and suggested by the context and sustained by contemporary usage, is to substitute a long and circuitous course of thought for a short, direct and obvious one."

He goes on in the next section to give the meaning of the phrase *τα στοιχία τῶν κοσμοῦ* as 'the rudimentary religious teachings possessed by the race.'* Here we have Thackeray's opinion again.

The difficulty has been stated in our quotation from Burton. What connection can there be between the religious beliefs and practices of the Gal.^{aliens} Colossians and Jews, and the planets. To begin with, we should notice that Gal. 4⁶, the gods who are no gods, are not necessarily star gods. That is to make all gods, star gods. There were gods of nature outside these. 'Why when you have been rescued from one form of pagan worship do you now assume another - the worship of the weak and beggarly spirits of the stars? In Colossians, we must notice, that it is some developed form of angel-worship in Judaism that is termed *στοιχεῖα*. Why this connection of Judaism with planet-worship? One looks enquiringly at the passage where Stephen speaks of the/

the Jewish sacrificial system as worship given not to God but to the Host of Heaven. Did Paul remember this? Did he conclude that the whole Jewish system had been dictated by these angels to whom sacrifice was made? God had allowed them to dictate the system. These angels were "weak and beggarly." They could give no positive directions to secure 'life,' they could only give negative directions on rules that did not much matter - touch not, taste not, handle not. It was all a beggarly system. Why then do you Galatians who have been freed from nature Gods that are no gods, fall back on the star-Gods who are as weak, [†]beggarly, as ineffective and slight in their ordinances, and as quickly to pass away as the gods you have left?

One can only bring forward the point as one that does suggest a connection between Judaism and the *τοὐκοῦμα* if these *τοὐκοῦμα* refer to the star or planet Gods. If Thackeray is right then "St. Paul regards Jew and Gentile alike as under a reign of Law. In obedience to ritual and ceremony they were on the same level." He continues "This is an idea which would have been utterly alien to a contemporary Jew: it is one which would have been inconceivable to St. Paul before his conversion." Thackeray would give Paul credit for originality in this matter. But Stephen had seen the whole world, Jew and Gentile under idolatry. It is to Stephen that Paul's views must be traced.

ELECTION/

The idea obtaining in St. Paul's time on the subject of Election, was that God had chosen the people of Israel for his own. He had established a series of Covenants with them, and He was bound by these Covenants as much as they were. If they did their part He would do his and fulfil all his Promises, the sole condition they had to satisfy being that they should keep God's Law. Israel would be blessed but not so the rest of the people of the world. Originally the Election of the people by God was reckoned a mark of God's Grace and favour. The favour of God came in Paul's time to be regarded as His favouritism. Descent from Abraham was enough to secure the Promises, and it was believed that no Jew could ever go into Gehenna. St. Paul had different views on Election from this. In Rs. 9⁸⁻¹³ we are told God chooses whom he will. He chose Abraham. He chose Jacob and not Esau, though Esau had all the rights of primogeniture. He even chose Pharoah for his purpose. These, Abraham, Jacob and Pharoah, were not chosen so much for privilege as for service. In Rs. 9¹¹ the phrase Paul uses is *κατ' ἐκλογὴν προτίειλε τῷ θεῷ* i.e. the purpose of God is on the basis of Election. Not descent from Abraham but the will of God whom He should choose to serve him, was the determining factor, in deciding who was to inherit the Promise..

God had chosen Israel but cf. Rs. 9⁶ They are not all Israel which are of Israel and 9¹⁷ Nor because they are the seed of Abraham are they all children. The true Israel/

Israel and the children of Abraham are those who have faith, and who do not put their trust in descent and the works of the law. Now faith could not be confined to any locality or nation. If this was the service of God all were capable of it, Gentile as well as Jew.

Paul was Apostle to the Gentiles. The late Prof. Bacon (Harvard University Studies) makes a distinction between Paul and Stephen on the following point. Paul gives the inheritance of Abraham to the Messiah, and all, Jew and Gentile who have faith in the Messiah, but this inheritance is (cf Eph. 1²⁰⁻²³) to be Lordship and Dominion over the whole creation. Paul's point of view Bacon says, is Pharisaic and cosmological. Stephen on the other hand, says, that the purpose of those who inherit the promises is "worship"

Myra : "worship me in this place." *Act 77*.

There is this further point. In Paul's mind there is always a certain privilege attached to Israel cf. Rs. 2⁴⁻⁵ where he recounts the glories of Israel. In Rs. 11¹⁷ the Gentiles are spoken of 'as the wild olive tree grafted in among the branches.' The idea of privilege remains secretly in St. Paul's mind. Stephen on the other hand sees Jew and Gentile, all alike, clearly under idolatry.

Israel is called to a spiritual worship. Is this calling extended to others also?

Stephen speaks of Abraham being called out of idolatry and an idolatrous country. Moses was similarly called out of an idolatrous country. In Stephen's speech we seem in Abraham to be touching the fringe of the wider world beyond Judaism. Can God not call men out of such conditions/

conditions again, out of idolatry in idolatrous countries, afar from Palestine? And did the Jews themselves not require to be called out of idolatrous practices? Circumcision was nothing, Temple and Cultus were nothing, the Calling of God was everything. There is no privilege here and a wide basis for universalism.

Life goes before theory. I wonder if in this matter experience had not gone before theory. Had certain Gentiles been under the power of the Spirit? Had Stephen made his reading of history with that new fact in mind? Or was his reading of history first? Did it open the gate to the Gentiles?

In any case Paul was chosen and elected on the road to Damascus. It was the calling of God. One can hardly read Rs. 9 without hearing an echo of Stephen's speech, where we are told of the calling of the Lord to his appointed servants. At Paul's conversion we are told he was sent to the Gentiles. The audible voice in religious experience is not unknown today. It may come up from inner consciousness and the rapt spirit hears the inner message as the external voice. The message to Paul concerned the Gentiles. Did he hear Stephen and with his quick mind see his points of Election and ~~C~~alling and the ~~c~~alling of men out of idolatrous countries, even as he heard and marked the story of Abraham's faith? Again we touch the mystery of a soul in its deepest places. We hold that Stephen advocated universalism, that the Ethio^{pean} Eunuch story is authentic. Why should it not be? It follows naturally from Stephen's position. Paul (too) ^{as well as Philip} had learned from Stephen, and later at Antioch, in a church founded by Stephen's followers, he was set apart for his great task of work among the Gentiles. Still Paul never lost a sense of privilege attaching to Israel. Stephen put/

put all on an equality: Paul retained traits of Pharisaism (cf. Bacon above) where Stephen had a different and humbler attitude, an attitude that put all men on an equal footing as worshippers, all equally requiring the salvation and receiving the salvation of God.

PERSONAL MESSIAH.

Paul, the Pharisee, might look for a Messiah, but he would not look for a suffering Messiah, neither would he allow to the Messiah the central place that he gives to Christ later. For him as for all Pharisees the law was the important thing. "If Israel could keep the law for a single day ~~day~~" it was said, "the Kingdom would come." Some works ~~do not~~ mention the Messiah cf. the Assumption of Moses, in the Coming of the Kingdom. The Messiah was not an absolutely necessary part of the Kingdom.

Paul the Christian puts Christ in the central place. The Kingdom centres in him, salvation is no longer to be attained by any law but by faith in a person, in Christ. This is so obvious in Paul that it does not require references. One of the striking things in Stephen's speech is God's leadership through persons. In Paul, Stephen defeated the Pharisee. The work was of God on the road to Damascus, but the conditioning influence preparing the way came from Stephen.

The/

The closer one studies the thought of Paul with Stephen's speech before one, the more is one convinced that not only the ideas and outlook of Stephen have taken hold and gripped Paul, but as it were the very form and face of the man have gripped^d him. We feel that Stephen's influence on Paul is found not only informing his thoughts on many sides but that the spirit of the martyr has captured and kept him, and lives on in him. This is the answer to the question with which we started - whether Paul was present at the stoning of Stephen. He must have heard the speech and it found deep lodgement in his heart.

How far did St. Paul know the views of the Hellenists before he heard Stephen? This is a question that cannot be answered. He himself was a Hebrew and a strong Pharisee but that is no reason for saying that the views of the Hellenists were not known to him. He may have known them well. But whether he did or not, it was the speech and death of Stephen that led him to adopt them as his own.

A further point remains. Was the death of Stephen the cause, under God, of Paul's conversion?² We have said the very face of the martyr seems to have gripped Paul. Was it Stephen's triumphal death that prepared Paul for his conversion on the road to Damascus?²

A curious parallel is found in "Life of Henry Martyn." (C.E. Padwick), pp. 206 & 207, in the story of an Arab called Sabat.

"An/

"An Arab of the Arabs after a life of wanderings, passions, remorse, protestations, recantations he was at last sewn up in a sack and dropped, by orders of a Malayan prince to the bottom of the sea. But his last message, the message of a lonely prisoner writing in his own blood, declared that he died in the Christian faith. It had taken the death of one saint and the life of another to win him."

"He was first driven to Christianity by remorse. The friend of his youth, with whom he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, came across an Arabic Bible in Cabul of all unlikely places, and far from any human teacher became a disciple of Christ. The change in him could not be hid and he had to fly for his life. He came to Bokhara. Sabat his friend was in the city. "I had no pity," said Sabat afterwards. "I delivered him up to Morad Shah the King." In the market-place they cut off one of the Christian's hands, Sabat the informer standing by in the crowd that watched. "

"He made no answer" Sabat said afterwards, "but looked up steadfastly towards heaven, like Stephen, the first martyr, his eyes streaming with tears. He looked at me but it was with the countenance of forgiveness. His other hand was then cut off. But he never changed and when he bowed his head to receive the blow of death all Bokhara seemed to say 'What new thing is this?' "

" Sabat could not ease himself of his friend's last look. In South India he read for himself the book that had made a martyr. Then he all but bullied the chaplain Dr. Kerr until he gave him baptism."

In like manner the face and conduct of the martyr Stephen influenced Paul.

CHAPTER II.

STEPHEN IN RELATION TO THE EPISTLE to the HEBREWS.

The identity of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews is unknown. There have been many conjectures as to its authorship, but none of them have attained any degree of certainty. Nor is anything known about the community to which the letter was sent. The title *τὴν*

Ἑβραίων gives no guidance, for it is written to a definite small community of which the writer is a member. He is absent from them and hopes soon to rejoin them cf 13²³. Moffatt (Epistle to the Hebrews Introduction p. XXI) says that "it is possible to infer from 13²⁴ that they belonged to Italy: in any case *τὴν Ἑβραίων* was written either to or from some Church in Italy." The letter is no general Epistle written to a section of the Church in different places as we would naturally expect from the title

τὴν Ἑβραίων but it is written to a definite Church as the Epistles to the Corinthians are written by Paul to the Church at Corinth. We have no assistance in the interpretation of the letter from any knowledge of the author or of the recipients of it. We must depend entirely on the letter itself.

Ch/

Ch. 1. The author begins with a statement that God, who had made a partial revelation of Himself and His will through the prophets, had recently given a full and final revelation through a Son. God's approach to man through the prophets had culminated in Jesus, who was God's Son. As a Son, He knows His Father more intimately than any servant and has a better knowledge of His mind and intention. Therefore, in Jesus, we have an intimate and perfect revelation of God's mind and will. Jesus is here thought of as the last and greatest of the prophets, as a Son who was also a prophet. He is also (cf. v² "by whom also he made the world's") God's agent in creation, who, now that his redemptive work for humanity is finished (v³ "when He had purged our sins") is seated at the right hand of God, that is, we have Jesus represented as the kingly Messiah. We have also references to Jesus as Messiah-King in v². But the chief interest of the writer is, not in Jesus as prophet, nor as King but in Jesus as priest, as representative of man to God. This note is struck early in the Epistle 1³ and it is the theme of all of it.

The author proceeds to show the superiority of Jesus to the angels. It was the belief of the time that everything in nature had its angel, but there was Scripture to prove that the whole of creation would pass away (1¹¹ cf. Ps. 102²⁶). The conclusion to be drawn from this is that, if the Law/

Law which was given by angels must be observed, then surely much more must the teaching of Jesus be observed. There is a glance here at the inference that the Law which was bestowed by the ephemeral angels attached to a vanishing creation could not be eternally valid. It was the teaching of Jesus that was valid for all time.

Ch. 2. By a quotation from the Psalms (2^{6-8a} cf. Ps. 8⁴⁻⁶) the author is able to prove that the eternal world - the world to come - is not put under the control of angels but under man. That is why Jesus became man, and although there is not yet universal subjection to mankind, yet even now we see Jesus by reason of his suffering, crowned with glory and honour. He has defeated Satan who had the power of death, and rescued his followers from the fear of it. Jesus had to become man before He could be a High-Priest for humanity and win this victory over death for mankind.

Ch. 3. Jesus is Superior to the angels (cf 1⁴) He is real: they are only shadow. He is superior to Moses, for Moses was a great servant, yet only a servant in the household of God: Jesus was a Son.

Ch. 3⁷⁻⁴ God has prepared rest for His people, but as the experience in the desert proved, not for all his people but only for such as had faith. This rest was not Canaan. Ps. 95⁷⁻¹¹, written at a much later time, speaks of the rest as still open. That rest is the Sabbatic rest of those who have ceased from their/

their labours as God on the seventh day ceased from the work of Creation. That we may enter into this rest, in the realm of real things, we must have faith in Jesus, the High-Priest, who has passed from this vanishing world, controlled by angels, into the enduring realm of reality in the heavens.

- Ch. 5. Jesus, as the High-Priest of humanity, was called by God. He was made a High-Priest, not after the order of Aaron, but of Melchisedec. The authority for this is Ps. 110⁴. Jesus, as High-Priest, was human that he might learn obedience and be made perfect through suffering.
- Ch. 6. There is need of faith and patience like Abraham's, if we are to enter into the Promise made to Abraham. The thing promised is taken to mean the rest or hope that is set before us. Into the rest in the eternal realm, Jesus, the High-Priest has entered.
- Ch. 7. Melchisedec was a greater person than Abraham, who gave him tithes. He was superior to the Sons of Levi who were the descendants of Abraham. There could be no perfection by the observance of ^{the} Levitical Law. This is shown by the Scriptures (Ps. 110⁴) for if the Levitical Law had been perfect there was no need of another priesthood other than the Levitical One. This Scripture says that there will be another priest after the order of Melchisedec, who was greater than either Abraham or Levi. A priest of this higher order has actually arisen, and he belongs to Judah not to the tribe of Levi. He is a priest for ever with/

with an eternal life. The old dispensation has therefore passed away. The Law under it was weak and made nothing perfect. A new dispensation has come and under it Jesus is High-Priest. Under the former dispensation or Covenant there was a succession of priests, for they were subject to mortality, but under the new covenant there is One priest who continues for ever. Accordingly he is for ever able to save, as he lives eternally and makes intercession for us.

Ch. 8. There is a true tabernacle in the realm of real things. God, not man, created it. Jesus, as High Priest, is a minister in this heavenly tabernacle and must have an offering to make. The heavenly things are the real ones: the earthly tabernacle and ministry are only shadows of the real. God showed Moses on Mt. Sinai the pattern which is in heaven. Jesus is a priest of this heavenly sanctuary, a priest of reality. He is a mediator too of a better covenant than the Mosaic one. Scripture (8⁸⁻¹⁰ Jerem. 31³¹⁻³⁴) proves that the first Covenant is a transitory measure. It is now obsolete. The enduring covenant has come through Jesus.

Ch. 9. Under the first Covenant a certain order of worship was ordained. There was a sanctuary with certain furnishings: behind a veil there was the Holiest place. A priest could always go into the sanctuary but into the 'Holiest' only the High-Priest could go, and that only once a year, after having made sacrifice for/

for himself and the people. This difficulty of entering into the Holiest showed that there had been no revelation of the way into this eternal realm. But now Jesus has entered it after making sacrifice of Himself, and offering His own blood. He has won redemption for us for, if the blood of animal sacrifice could be effective in making the tabernacle and its furnishings ceremonially clean, the blood of Jesus must be effective to do more than that; it cleanses from sin. Jesus made the Sacrifice of Himself once and for all. It is final and absolute.

Ch. 10. The Law cannot make people perfect in holiness, but Jesus by the voluntary sacrifice of Himself ^{has} can. Let us therefore draw near to God through the access to His presence that Jesus has won for us by His sacrifice.

Ch. 11. We must have faith and patience as the great men and women of Israel had.

Ch. 12. We may have suffering but it ^{lasts} only for a short time. Christ can help with sympathy those who suffer.

Ch. 13. In this world, we have no continuing city, for this is not the realm of reality. The real world is ready now at any moment to break in upon us. Let us wait then in faith and patience, looking unto Jesus, the High-Priest and Mediator of the new Covenant. Let brotherly love continue: let your lives be holy and acceptable to God and wait for the Kingdom is near.

Such in very brief outline is the argument in Hebrews: The letter is a word of Exhortation, encouraging Christians who were in danger through hardship of falling away from Christianity, to wait and have faith for the Kingdom is near. To encourage their faith the writer explains to them the greatness of the Person of Jesus. He is prophet, priest and King, and all these after a higher order than the earthly, for He is the Son of God.

I. 'HEBREWS' and the JEWISH LAW.

The author is principally concerned to show that Christianity is the perfect religion; it belongs to the eternal realm of reality, it is final and absolute and alone true, and all other systems belong to the realm of shadow and unreality. The Mosaic Law and the Levitical system contained in it are chosen for contrast and debate because they were well-known to those who are addressed. The quotations from Scripture in 'Hebrews' are out of the LXX Version of the C.T. His readers had that version of Scripture in their hands, and it contained the Mosaic system. This is the reason why the tabernacle and not the Temple is referred to. It is the Scriptural account of the Mosaic legislation that is being contrasted with Christianity. This Mosaic system belonged to the order of the phenomenal world, to the realm of unreality and shadow. Christianity belonged to the real, eternal world.

The Law, the author says, was given by angels. Now these angels are attached to and have their being in creation, which, according to Scripture, is vanishing away/

away. The world is ephemeral: the angels must, therefore be ephemeral beings, and the Law which they mediated partakes of this vanishing ephemeral nature, for it does not belong to the order of reality. As the world is a shadow of the real world in the heavens, the Law can only be a shadow of the true Covenant. It cannot be effective in producing real religion or real worship. The writer repeatedly refers to the powerlessness of the Law (7¹⁹, 10¹, cf 8⁷), it could make nothing perfect. It was only a symbol of reality, the substance was in Christ.

The part of the Law in which the interest of the writer centres is in the mediation of the High-Priest. The great stumbling block that prevents communion with God is sin, and the Law could do nothing to take that away. The High-Priest had to sacrifice for himself as well as for others and the blood of the sacrifice could only ~~make~~ ^{make} the sanctuary ^{and people} ceremonially clean, for such animal sacrifice could not effect any cleansing of the heart. It could not give 'life.' The voluntary sacrifice of his perfect life by the Son had a different value. He belonged to the order of reality and His sacrifice had quickening power and was effective. The works and offices of the Law were accordingly dead. They were shadow. The substance was in the 'life' mediated by Jesus.

The real tabernacle was in heaven: the earthly sanctuary and its furnishings were a type of what was in heaven. Jesus was the eternal High-Priest. The world was on the point of vanishing away. The real world alone would remain. The 'power' in that real world was of God through/

through Jesus. That power was already making itself felt in this world. Christians knew it in their hearts. If they had faith and patience they would come into the fullness of the Kingdom when, shortly, this age should have passed away.

There are two points in reference to the Law that require further consideration.

- (a) 'Hebrews' refers to the Law as the 'word spoken by angels' (2²). This is a reference to the same legend as we find in Stephen's speech and in Galatians (3¹⁹). Stephen says that the Jews thought their Law was of divine origin - "It was given by angels" they said. He gives them to understand that they were wrong in their opinion. The Jews regarded the angels of the legend as good angels, divine beings, who are God's agents. Stephen takes the legend as they understood it but he means 'You are wrong in thinking that the Law was given by such beings. Part of it is pagan in origin. It came to you out of the distant past. Its origin is unknown but it is not divine. Not the Law but the prophets are the true channel of Revelation.'

St. Paul also understands the angels, to be good angels and God's agents. But the Law for him, because it was given by them and not by the direct voice of God, was secondary and inferior to the Promise which was directly given to Abraham.

The author of 'Hebrews' understands the angels more as beings attached to and having their being in the temporal world that is passing away. He gives no/

no indication of their relationship to God. He is not so much interested in that as in their relationship to the world. But their connection with the Law shows its futility. The angels are ephemeral: they shall pass away with the world to which they belong; if they are ephemeral, so is the Law they gave.

Paul takes the angelic mediation as proof of the inferior nature of the Law to the Promise. Hebrews uses it likewise to prove its inferior nature to the truth in Jesus. It is generally thought that Stephen and 'Hebrews' use the legend to glorify the Law while Paul uses it to depreciate the Law. The truth is that all three use the legend, and all three say, in connection with it, that the Law is inferior to something else that has been given, Stephen to the inspiration of the prophets, Paul to the Promise and 'Hebrews' to the truth in Jesus.

- (b) 'Life.' It is noteworthy that in 'Hebrews' although the argument about the High-Priesthood of Jesus is apt to hide it from us, we have a writer whose great interest is in the living God and in the 'life' that He gives through Jesus. In contrast with this, the Law could make nothing perfect and it was not effective to cleanse from sin.

How much the writer is concerned with the idea of 'life' can be seen from the following quotations-

12²²....the city of the living God.

12²⁹...For our God is a consuming fire.

10²⁰ By a new and living way

6⁵ the powers of the world to come.

412 The word of God is quick and powerful (See Moffatt's note "Epistle to the Hebrews ad loc." where he says this means 'the whole revelation of God').

With these we may compare 6¹ where we have reference to 'dead works' .

The whole conception of the writer rests on the idea that God's Kingdom is one of power, that the sacrifice of Jesus has power to cleanse from sin, and he knows that the power of Jesus and of the real world is already making itself felt in this realm of time.

Prof. Moffatt in an interesting article in the Expositor (Jan 1918) on the 'dead works' of Hebrews 6¹ examines different explanations of the phrase that may be given but concludes on p. 17, "The criticism conveyed in *νεκροῦ* is quite intelligible as a value-judgment upon the inability of such religious devotion (i.e. the praxis of Jewish legalism) to produce what Christians would call "life." "Christianity," as Jowett wrote in his essay on Conversion, "is not acquired as an art by long practice: it does not carve and polish human nature with a graving tool: it makes the whole man: first pouring out his soul before God, and then 'casting him in a mould'." When this great discovery is made, the failure of the older system becomes plain. Instead of working away at oneself, the man realizes that the beginning of/

of life is a new relation to God. This is "life."
 It brings *ἔργα* of its own. As the author of
Τίτῳ *ἐπιβιβάζει* puts it in his final prayer "May the
 God of Peace who brought up from the dead our Lord
 Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep, with the blood
 of the eternal covenant, furnish you with everything
 for the doing of His will, creating in your lives
 by Jesus Christ what is acceptable in his own sight."
 But these "*ἔργα*" are the expression and issue
 of the real life: and it is in contrast to them that
 the course of conduct which was once expected to
 produce religious fellowship with the living God is
 dismissed as *νεκρά*. cold, lifeless
 uninspiring."

In Hebrews on this particular point of life, we
 have much that reminds us of Stephen - the living
 Revelation (Hebr. 4¹² and the "living oracles" of
 Stephen) and the power to do miracles, the power to
 do what the Law could not effect. The same thought
 pervades 'Hebrews.': only in Stephen the 'power' and
 'life' are in the words of Jesus and come also from
 the Risen Jesus; in Hebrews the 'power' and 'life'
 come to Christians through the sacrifice of Jesus.

II.

JESUS.

We saw that Stephen thought of Jesus as a prophet
 with "living words." Power came from Him(self) also after
 He had risen. We know that the age was troubled with a
 deep sense of sin. The greatest day of the sacred year
 was/

was the 'Day of Atonement', when sacrifice was made for the sins of the whole people. As time went on, Christians of the Stephenite persuasion were bound to feel that, so far, as Stephen had taught them, there was something lacking with regard to this problem - the wiping out of sin.

For Stephen, Jesus was a prophet who was more than a prophet, who was also Son of Man. As a prophet He had "living words;" as Son of Man He had quickening power. True worship was response in faith and obedience to Him: Union with God was through Him and His "word."

For 'Hebrews' God approaches man through Jesus, who is a prophet and a Son. But man approaches God in 'Hebrews', not without a mediator but through the mediating sacrifice for sin of Jesus, the Redeemer. Worship is in faith and obedience, not through the "living word" only but through the living sacrifice of Jesus. This explains the emphasis on the idea of the High-Priesthood of Jesus in the Epistle. Prof. Kennedy (Expositor April 1919 p. 285) remarks "Further, as Siegfried has cogently pointed out (Philo von Alexandria p. 221f), the dignity of the High-Priest had been immensely enhanced in the post-exilic community, so that to a degree never before conceived he stood as mediator between God and his people..... A striking comment on the fact is Philo's ascription of the title High Priest to the Logos, (De Mig. Abr. 102). And probably it is legitimate to regard this as one of the factors which set the Priesthood of Christ in the centre of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a document, whose Alexandrian and Platonic associations are evident throughout."

Whether/

Whether the author of Hebrews was influenced by Philo or Alexandrian thought on this particular point we cannot say. A sufficient explanation of the High-Priesthood of Jesus is the author's consciousness that, in Jesus, sin, the hindrance to Communion with God, had been taken away. He knew the need of man for a Saviour for sin. He wishes to point out clearly that Jesus is this Saviour. He is the true High-Priest who has made a perfect sacrifice and whose power takes sin out of the way. There is clear access to God through Jesus.

III.

ALEXANDRIANISM in 'HEBREWS.'

The whole atmosphere of the language and methods of interpretation in 'Hebrews' is Alexandrian - earthly things are for him the shadow of the real (Ch. 10¹) the Levitical system is a shadow of the true worship, Melchisede is a type of Christ. Further, the Alexandrianism of 'Hebrews' lies very deep in the book. It is at the very foundation of it. The author thinks of two worlds - the real and the actual, the spiritual and the phenomenal. The latter passes quickly away: the other is eternal. The Christian will inherit the eternal world.

Along with this Platonism there goes the Jewish conception of correspondence, between things earthly and things heavenly, (see pp. 97, 98). The author thinks of the heavenly things as concrete counterparts of things existing now, and of the eternal world, not as a spiritual world to be entered on through mysticism, but as a concrete world where there will be fellowship with God. Here he has the common Jewish outlook.

The Greek and Jewish conceptions - the Platonic system of ideas and the Jewish system of correspondence, are combined, but they hardly coalesce.

In Hebrews we have the same Alexandrian method of interpretation as we find in Stephen. As we read Hebrews, and find Melchisedec taken as a type of Jesus, we irresistibly think of Stephen, although he found the type of Jesus in Moses.

IV.

THE TITLE *ὑπὲρ ἑβραίων.*

The title can hardly be original. No such general body of believers are addressed in the letter as such a title suggests. It is written to a definite church which is well-known to the writer. The title can best be explained as attached in error by a scribe who saw that it had much to say about Jewish ritual, and concluded it was addressed to Jewish Christians to remind them of the superiority of Christianity over Judaism. In reality the writer is not so much trying to prove the superiority, as he is trying to point out that Christianity is the final, absolute and perfect religion.

CONCLUSION. The Alexandrian thought of 'Hebrews' is similar to the method of interpretation used by Stephen. In Hebrews, as in Stephen, we find the legend that the Law was given by angels. This legend is also used by Paul, and/

and we have seen good reason to believe that Paul's use of it was suggested by what Stephen said. We feel too that Stephen on this point has not been without influence on the writer to the Hebrews.

We find affinity between Stephen and Hebrews in the emphasis they both place on the 'life' and 'power' that are in Christianity.

Hebrews deals at great length with right worship, with the true approach of man to God. The Levitical system for him is powerless; for Stephen it is wrong. The approach for Stephen is through the "living words" of Jesus; for 'Hebrews' it is through the living sacrifice of Jesus. There is a difference, but the difference, in Hebrews, is an extension of Stephenism. We have seen where Stephenism was weak. It did not deal adequately with the sense of sin that weighed men down and prevented their approach to God. 'Hebrews' takes up this problem. He says that God may be approached through Christ who, by his voluntary sacrifice, has taken away *Sin*.

We conclude then that there is a close connection between the Epistle to the Hebrews and Stephen. There is the same type of language and method of interpretation, the Bible in both is the LXX, there is the same emphasis on 'life' and 'power' ; there is the same depreciation of the Law; where Hebrews differs from Stephen it supplies what in Stephenism was wanting.

There is good ground for the opinion that 'Hebrews' belongs to a Stephenite community of the second generation, where the doctrine of Stephen had been supplemented and strengthened by further thought on the meaning of the death/

death of Jesus. Prof. E.F. Scott (Epistle to the Hebrews pp. 63.64) is of this opinion, and with this opinion there seems no reason to disagree.

CONCLUSION.

I.

In the course of our study we have found that Stephen was the protagonist of the Hellenistic party within the Church. This party, we think, was in opposition to Temple and Cultus and neglected the external observances of the Jewish Law. For the Hellenists the service of God consisted in faith and ethical and social service. They found the Law wanting in 'life.'

Stephen found 'life' and 'power' in the words of Jesus and in the Risen Jesus Himself. Jesus was for him the Son of Man who would come to judge the world and rule in the world to come, which was on the point of appearing and was already making its presence felt.

Stephen was a keen and energetic follower of Jesus, with faith in and the courage of his convictions. Hellenist as he was, he considered Temple and Ritual wrong. He had found in Jesus the life and power which were wanting in the Law. Jesus was the Messiah. What was necessary was not Temple and Ritual, but faith in God and in Jesus, the Messiah. He became a missionary and preacher of the new faith to the people (to the ~~hellenists~~). His zeal brought him into conflict with the Sanhedrin. He was tried and put to death. But the light of his faith kindled the faith of Paul. Paul carried/

carried with him the very presence of Stephen, and his thought was much influenced by, and his outlook got more than its direction from, Stephen. Following on the death of Stephen there had been preaching to the Samaritans, who were outside orthodox Judaism, and the conversion of an Ethiopian is recorded. Stephen had freed Christianity from the trammels of the Jewish Law. Jesus could be offered as a Saviour to all. Paul, believing with Stephen, that faith in God and in Jesus as the Messiah was the essential thing in Salvation, and believing that he had been called to preach Jesus to the Gentiles, carried the Gospel to the Gentile countries beyond the borders of the Holy Land. Paul, like Stephen, expected an immediate appearance of the Kingdom, ^{and of Christ} ~~and~~. As time passed and no Parousia occurred he had to modify his position, but Jesus was too much the 'life' ^{after} for which he had longed, for him to despair of Jesus. The time of the appearance of the Kingdom might well be left with God. Meanwhile through faith in Jesus there was salvation and redemption from the power of sin, life with God in Christ, a 'life' that neither principalities nor powers could hinder or crush.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews we have another stream of influence flowing from Stephen. Time demanded some development of the position taken up by Stephen, but the basis of 'Hebrews' is Stephenism.

There was a different party in the Church - the Hebraists, to which the Apostles belonged. They believed in Jesus as Messiah and *Χριστός*, as did the Hellenists, but they did not break with the Temple. Paul tried hard to keep in touch with this party, and to make the Church wide and universal, including Hebraists and Hellenists/

Hellenists, but Christianity was destined to find its centre, not within but ^{without} ~~out~~with the borders of Palestine. Had the Hebraist party dominated the Church, Christianity would have remained a sect within Judaism. Stephen, with his Hellenistic background, freed it from the control of Judaism, and made it universal. If in our Christianity today we are debtors to Paul, we are debtors also to Stephen, the forerunner of Paul. Through Stephen, as through his Master, we are indebted to the prophets who went before both. The task of the prophets of Israel had been to free religion from the limiting conditions of place and form and nationality, to make it free from external conditions, and place it in the heart that was dedicated to God. In this sense, as in others, Jesus was a prophet. Stephen's view of Jesus and His teaching made this prophetic understanding of religion triumphant in Christianity, as it also, in all probability, made sure that Christianity would be open to all on equal terms.

II.

Our study of Stephenism is not only valuable from the historical point of view referred to in the last paragraph, but it touches some of the ^{living} live issues in Christianity today, in fact some of the perennial problems of Christianity. One of these live ^{ing} issues which Stephen deals with is the value of Institutionalism in religion.

For Stephen God makes the revelation of His will through the inspired word of the prophet. That word is given fresh and alive to meet the ever-changing needs of the different ages. It comes too with divine authority. The spirit/

spirit of God comes to everyman through the words of Jesus and through Jesus Himself. In Christianity, he seems to say that inspirational power is breathed through Christ on the individual soul, and each soul lives in direct contact with God. Stephen considers right religion to be a response of the individual heart to God, even as God, in Christianity at least and as He wished to do through Moses, breathes His power into the individual soul. Through inspired individuals, to individuals who through them will become inspired, is God's method of Revelation.

Stephen allowed no place to the 'Church' in Israel as a means of communicating the 'life' that the soul required. It rested on a Law which, not to speak of its being partly wrong, had come down from the past. It was not fresh from God. It had to be interpreted to suit the advancing times. What divine authority could be claimed for man's reflections on a body of Law coming out of the mists of antiquity? The Church had a worship that was wrong and she lacked, resting as she did on Law, the living spirit of God.

We have said that Stephen does less than justice to the priest. He does less than justice to the 'Church' of which the priests were servants. The priest and the Church were always present and accessible to the people. The Church was a constant factor in religion: the prophet was occasional. There were periods when no prophet appeared. Again, the priests, as we have seen, were, in all probability, repositories of historical and other valuable knowledge. They had a teaching function, teaching perhaps the acts of God in the history of their nation. Stephen forgets also that it was out of Israel - and Israel was the Church then - that/

that the prophets came. Out of no other nation could such a succession of men have come. Further some of the prophets were priests. The 'Church' kept alive the knowledge of God, taught the generations about Him, interpreted the Revelation they believed they had in the Law, and, as we see in the documents D. & P., utilized, in the service of the Church, the spirit and teaching of the prophets.

Similarly, the Church today has a teaching function. She must interpret the Scriptures for the age, and proclaim out of the Scriptures the Grace and Love of God in Jesus Christ. She must teach Christian living. It is from the Church and her organizations that the great majority of people still get to know about God, and to know God. Further the Church is always present among the people.

In religion, we require the person of genius, as in every other activity of life. We require those who have a genius for prayer, as also those who have the power to move their fellow-men. The Church must welcome those times that are called 'Revivals', but that Evangelist is foolish who at such times fails to see that the Church through her teaching and constant witness has been winning and sustaining those who help him in his work, and that the Church has been keeping alive the knowledge of God among the people. Souls are daily being won for Christ through the ministrations of the Church, otherwise long ago the Church would have ceased to be. Further, as the prophet came out of the Church, so do revivals. The Church and the Inspirational power of the Evangelist must work together. They are not opposed to each other: they are complementary.

Stephen/

Stephen looked on the Revelation in the Law as dead, for it came from a distant past. It is true that by reflection the scribes tried to interpret it for the needs of the changing ages, but were their findings true? In the name of these findings could not the truth be crucified? Here we touch the claims that are sometimes made for Mysticism in our own day. The mystic is free from the past and all wrong present day deductions from it: he finds God in his own Soul. Here too we touch the very different attitude of those who hold as truth all that is in the Bible, though science may have another story to tell. A thing is not wrong because it is old, but advancing time proves somethings held to be true to be wrong. The Church must under the guidance of the Holy Spirit give guidance to the people on belief and conduct. The Church, while she lives in communion and contact with the Living God, knows and proclaims that while God is known now, He was known in the ages past, that He revealed Himself then as He is revealing Himself now, and that the supreme revelation is in Jesus. Historical revelation and mysticism are both necessary in the Church's life.

III.

The Church is a centre of worship. Stephen has much to say on worship. He held that the cultus and external observance of his time were wrong. They were an unspiritual worship of a spiritual Being. The worship of such a Being was response in the heart of the individual.

Let/

Let it be allowed that in religion there is always danger of formalism and deadness in worship, Let it be allowed that in connection with the Christian Sacraments there has been much superstitious belief. When all this is allowed we must add that the Church is a society, and if she is to exist as a society for the worship of God, she must have some forms of worship. These forms may be simple, like the Quakers' silence, but forms there must be.

There is a further point. People differ in temperament and ability. There are many good people who can work for God, who can honour Him and Christ and obey the Christian rule of life, but who cannot have the rich emotional experience of the mystic saints. They wish to worship God. It must be a worship where they can do something not only think and contemplate. If all of different temperaments are to join in worship we must have forms in which all can take part.

IV.

Stephen said that a Law coming down from the past was no living oracle for the present. It was a word in the heart, not one in a book, that men required.

There is danger in Stephen's attitude. Paul, following Stephen, had difficulty with anti-nomianism at Corinth. Without the Law people are apt to become centres of license.

Judaism, when it formulated the idea of law in religion, did the world good service. According to Judaism the/

the dictates of the moral consciousness were God's commandments and must be obeyed; they were not merely, as with the Greeks, a rule in accordance with nature which it was advisable to obey.

Faith is necessary. Communion and life with God are real, but the spirit of God does not work ~~in forms~~ ^{without forms}. It finds expression in forms, and we must have our moral duties, by which we serve God, formulated. Part of the work of the Church is to develop a higher and better morality in the service of God, and to formulate it for the guidance of the people.

V.

Who shall be reckoned citizens in the Kingdom of God? If we are wise we shall reckon all to be citizens who are trying faithfully, believing in God, to lead a Christian life.

The Church reminds the world of God, unites the world to God. She needs the mystical temperament, she needs the person who is an inspirational force, but she requires too those of the practical type, those who are glad to know the Christian Law and to do it.

Stephen knew a great truth - that Christ was 'life.' But there is a type which will show its faith by its works. The Church of Jesus must include all who seek in sincerity to follow Jesus.

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